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# *The Journal of Southern History*

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# The Records of Southern History

By PHILIP M. HAMER

The preservation and study of the records of Southern history is a problem with which all persons who have a real interest in the South's past and care for its present and its future should be concerned.<sup>1</sup> Such persons are justly proud of much of the South's peculiar heritage and of the notable progress which has been made in building a new South; but they realize that in many respects the South of today falls below their exacting ideal of it, and they hope that they can participate in the creation of a future South in which there will be a maximum of well-being and civilized living for all Southerners. They believe it to be of fundamental importance in the building of this future South that intelligent judgment and will, based upon knowledge and understanding, be applied to the solution of its problems.

To this building of the future South the historian can be an important contributor. He can assist in making known the realities of the past in order that those of the present may be understood and that the future may be wisely planned; he can assist in developing in the South a collective memory and a social consciousness which will contribute to a realistic orientation with the present and to a reasonable foreseeing of the future. For history has no meaning and its study has no purpose unless knowledge of the past makes understandable the present which continuously absorbs the future and quickly becomes itself the past. If this be not so, historians must feel that their professional lives, collectively and individually, are ones of complete frustration. The modern historian, however, looks backward in order that he may look forward,

<sup>1</sup> This paper was read as the presidential address before the Southern Historical Association at New Orleans, Louisiana, November 4, 1938.

and he thereby identifies himself significantly with the society in which he lives.

But the historian can know the past, and can make it known, only to the extent that records of that past have been preserved and can be used by him. What, then, are these records, the materials which the historian needs for his re-creation of the past of that portion of the United States which we call the South? In the broadest sense they are the sum total of those things which, upon examination at any time after they have been made, enable the examiner to re-create the lives of the people who made them, the society of which these people were a part in all of its significant aspects, and, over a period of years extending to the present, trace the development of that complex of human relationships which has produced the present and seek to find some meaning in it.

These records of Southern history are of many kinds. They are such products of man's handiwork as the primitive implements of warfare and of domestic life which the archaeologist unearths from aboriginal mounds and town sites. They are the clothes, the house furnishings, the farm implements, the weapons, and other products of human industry which have been gathered into our museums or ought to be preserved there. They are the results of the creative aspirations of Southern artists. They are photographs of Southern men and women and of places and events—some historic, in the commonly accepted sense of that word, many commonplace, but each depicting in some respect an aspect of Southern life which is, or in the future will be, of value to the student of a broadly conceived history of the South. They are the motion picture films on which is made a visual record of events, and sound recordings which make it possible for future historians to hear the songs we sing, the speeches we make, and the radio programs to which we listen. They are such records as are made of the ballads of the Southern mountaineers, the songs of Negroes in the cotton fields or on the wharves or on the chain gang, and even the swing music of our modern "jitter-bugs."

Among the records of Southern history, by way of further example, are the buildings of the Vieux Carré, with their iron gates and balconies and their secluded patios, and other structures throughout the South

which assist us in our study of the history of Southern architecture or otherwise help us to understand the lives of those who have built and have occupied them. They are restaurants such as Antoine's in which we dine this evening, itself an institution in which history has been made and itself a part of history. They are the printed records of man's thoughts and actions, books, newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, broadsides, etc., the earliest imprints, today's newspaper, and such fugitive items as campaign posters and leaflets. They are such unprinted records as letters, diaries, memoranda, and other documents which record the multiplicity of our activities in the religious, economic, political, and social phases of our life. Important among them are the records created by our national, state, and local governments.

Neither age, nor autograph, nor association with names of distinction or with unique events is the sole measure of value of the records which our historians need. No peculiar sanctity attaches to a document solely because now it is yellow with age, the ink so faded that it can scarcely be read. Its value is to be measured in terms of its informational content. Many of those which were created only yesterday are of greater potential value to the historian than inconsequential scraps of paper which date from earlier centuries. For the historian, a document which bears the signature of George Washington, Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, or even Button Gwinnett is valuable only to the extent that there is information in it which adds to our understanding of the past. Of far more value may be some letter, or diary, or account book bearing the signature of a man who individually was unimportant but who has left a record which significantly throws light on an otherwise unknown or incompletely understood phase of Southern life. Of greater value than accounts of many unique and spectacular events which delight the antiquarian or the episodic historian are plantation diaries, census schedules, court proceedings, case histories of millions on relief, and other records which are individually commonplace for the most part in themselves but can assist greatly in our attempted reconstruction of the past.

In the past, regrettably, we have not been careful to preserve those records which today would enable us to know our history as we should

like to know it. "There hath been a great neglect in keeping the records," was the complaint of Virginia's lawmakers as early as 274 years ago. Such today is the complaint which historians still make. Many of those who have had records in their custody have failed—whatever the reason—adequately to preserve and to make accessible much of our basic source material.

As regards our public records, those made by agencies of government, they have, on the whole, been more carefully preserved than those which can be described as nongovernmental. There have been some legal requirements that they be kept; some of them have administrative value or are basic documents for the establishment of title to property. However wide the gap between legal requirements and actual practice, law and administrative necessity have had some influence making for the preservation of records which would otherwise have been lost. Nevertheless, the record of their destruction is appalling.

In the course of years fire has taken a heavy toll; but reference can here be made only to a few of the major catastrophes caused by fire. In Alabama the state capitol was burned in 1849; and though records on the lower floors were saved, the State Library with its valuable collection of documents was destroyed. In Virginia the capitol was burned in 1676, 1698, and 1748; and in 1865 fire destroyed the state courthouse in Richmond, resulting in the loss of many valuable records including those of the old General Court from about 1619, of the Court of Appeals, and of many county courts which had been brought to Richmond for safekeeping during the war. In Texas in 1855 fire destroyed all the records of the adjutant general's office, and tradition has it "that certain wayward citizens had a lively interest in some of the criminal records in the office which they desired expunged, and that the fire was not accidental." In North Carolina many of the state's early records were lost when the capitol burned in 1831. In South Carolina fire in the statehouse destroyed records in 1788, and in 1865. In Kentucky the capitol was burned in 1813 and 1824, and in 1865 fire in the offices of the governor, the secretary of state, and the clerk of the Court of Appeals created serious gaps in important series of records.

War has twice been a major instrument of destruction of records in the South. Here again a few illustrations must suffice. During the Revolution many of Georgia's records were destroyed by the British and others were lost as they were hurriedly carted to Charleston, South Carolina, then to New Bern, North Carolina, and finally as far as Maryland to keep them from the British. In Virginia, upon the advance of the British, the records at Williamsburg were removed to Richmond and subsequently were tumbled into wagons and carted away to the upper James River country. Many of them had to be collected later from private residences along the route, and many were lost. The Civil War also caused much destruction. Many valuable records were destroyed when state capitols or courthouses were burned or sacked by Union troops; often records were hastily shipped from one place to another in the attempt to protect them from the invading armies with the result that many were never returned. In Jackson, Mississippi, for instance, Union troops destroyed many records of the state and wantonly mutilated others, frequently writing across the pages "Remember Grant," "Remember Sherman," etc. In 1862 Confederate troops, occupying the quarters of the Alabama State Historical Society, used its collection of valuable old newspapers to start their fires. In Arkansas report has it that when paper became scarce some of the state records were used for cartridges.

The major causes, however, of the destruction of the records of our history have been, in addition to fire and war, custodial and public ignorance and negligence and carelessness and indifference. In the old state capitol in Little Rock, Arkansas, the overflow of records from state offices was dumped for decades into "the catacombs" in the basement, the province of the State Library, where the rooms were described as late as 1906 as "damp, dismal, and disagreeable." In Georgia "many valuable, even priceless documents of the state have served on occasion to kindle fires in the capitol." In this state also, it has been said that every change of personnel resulted in a house cleaning in which records not immediately required were thrown away. This statement is substantiated by the fact that a resurvey of the state's archives made fifteen



years after Ulrich B. Phillips' report on the public archives of Georgia revealed that "any number of valuable records" he listed "had entirely disappeared." In Kentucky, when the state offices were moved into the new capitol, great quantities of records were sold as waste paper. Here also in 1900 troops which were quartered in the capitol during the Goebel-Taylor conflict "made their beds of documents and lighted their pipes with leaves from the files." In Virginia, just after the Civil War, practically all extant state records are reported to have been thrown "in a confused heap into one of the garrets of the capitol," from which they were not removed until 1891. In South Carolina, it is said, practically all the records of the adjutant general's office "were destroyed during the World War by an army sergeant who wanted to use the boxes for shipping purposes." In Mississippi inactive state records were consigned to prison; having been accumulated on the third floor of the capitol, "in hopeless confusion," it was feared that the weight of them endangered the lives of the members of the Supreme Court who sat in the room below, so the records were removed to the penitentiary. In Tennessee, as offices in the state capitol became crowded, the inactive records were dumped into a crypt in the basement. Here, one observer reported, they "lay piled in masses on the stone floors, among old paint barrels, ashes, trash of every description, dirt and grime. They were wet and rotting, and . . . the janitor . . . burned up several cartloads because of the fact that they were 'wet and nasty and smelled bad.'" Quantities were sold, without legislative authorization, as waste paper. In Florida, about thirty years ago, an investigator found that some of the records of the office of the secretary of state had recently been recovered from a coal bin and that others in the garret were "loose and in great confusion," many of them lying on the floor so thickly that it was literally covered with them.

One might continue at considerable length to cite specific instances of the destruction or mistreatment of the public records of our states. And it is probable that records of our counties have suffered even more severely from war, fire, neglect, theft, dampness, vermin, dirt, etc., than those of our state governments. The fate of the records of our munici-

palities has been worse, on the whole, than that of our county records. Descriptions of their condition are meager, but it seems fair to assume that the following account, written in 1903, of the records of a former capital of Georgia is characteristic of far too many of them: "They are in no arrangement, and no care is taken of them. Some of them have been damaged by mice, and all of them . . . are exceedingly dusty and disagreeable to use."

As regards nonpublic records, their preservation has been even more fortuitous, more the result of chance and less the result of foresight than the public ones. We have little of the tradition of preserving family archives. Personal papers have been destroyed deliberately, often by descendants who had no conception of their value. Many have been preserved for a time and then destroyed by fire. One is impressed, and disheartened, as he reads, for example, in the reports of the surveys published by the historical commissions of Alabama and Mississippi more than thirty-five years ago that when attempts were made to locate the papers of prominent citizens of those states, frequently it was reported that they had been destroyed by fire or otherwise lost. Too often when they have been preserved, their present possessors are disinclined, for a multitude of reasons, to place them in institutions where they will be kept safely and made available for the use of scholars. Little attempt has been made to preserve business records by the owners thereof. Usually they have been destroyed when they have ceased to be of administrative use; little attention has been paid to this type of record by collecting agencies. Records of our social and religious organizations are indifferently kept and often carelessly misplaced or deliberately thrown away.

The underlying reason for most of the destruction of our official records has been public and legislative indifference and a consequent failure to establish in each state an agency of government with sufficient authority and adequate funds to concern itself solely with the preservation, care, and administration of those records. In all of our states, of course, it has been provided by law that certain records must be kept by certain administrative governmental agencies, but such legislation has been based primarily upon consideration of administrative necessity

rather than upon any consideration of historical needs, and practice has often and regrettably varied widely from the law. It should not be forgotten, of course, that during the nineteenth century there were spasmodic evidences of governmental interest in records from the historical as distinguished from the administrative point of view. More often than not this represented the results of the influence of individuals or of local historical societies upon legislative authorities. Notable, in this connection, was the action of North Carolina in securing transcripts of records in Great Britain for the Colonial period of her history and the publication of them in *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, the first volume of which came from the press in 1886; and this example has been followed in varying degree by other Southern states.

The early years of the twentieth century, however, saw a decided improvement in the attitude of legislative authorities in a number of states. This appears to have been a result of the efforts of a relatively small number of men who had not only an understanding of the desirability of preserving the records of our history but those combinations of personality characteristics which enabled them to secure legislative action.

Alabama was the first state in the South to establish a state agency, financed by public funds, whose purpose was to preserve and make available for use the state's noncurrent archives, to collect other historical records, and otherwise to promote the study and increased knowledge of the state's history. The man who was almost solely responsible for this was Thomas M. Owen, a young lawyer, untrained in history as such training is known today but interested in history since childhood, intelligent, resourceful, energetic, and enthusiastic, with a vision of a state supported archival and historical agency, and with the ability to make this vision a reality. In 1898 he virtually assumed control of the moribund Alabama Historical Society and gave it new life; he became its secretary and soon secured for it a state appropriation to finance an annual publication. From the legislature he secured also the appointment of an Alabama History Commission, empowered to make a comprehensive survey of the records of Alabama's history "whether in domestic or foreign archives or repositories, or in private hands." As chairman of

this Commission, Owen planned its work and was largely responsible for its report which was submitted in 1900 to the governor and by him to the legislature. The report contained not only the results of an excellent preliminary survey but also a recommendation that a state Department of Archives and History be established. The recommendation was approved by the legislature with the result that in 1901 the department came into existence with Owen as director. Its purposes were declared to be "the care and custody of official archives, the collection of materials bearing upon the history of the State, and the territory included therein, from the earliest times, the compilation and publication of the State's official records and other historical materials, the diffusion of knowledge in reference to the history and resources of the State, the encouragement of historical work and research, and the performance of such other acts and requirements as may be enjoined by law."

Alabama's action had a marked influence upon other states. In Mississippi, in 1900, the legislature provided for the establishment of an Historical Commission similar in purpose to that which Alabama had created two years earlier. With Professor Franklin L. Riley, member of the faculty of the state university and for many years secretary of the Mississippi Historical Society, as its chairman, the Commission issued a report similar in character and recommendations to that of Alabama's Commission. In 1902 the legislature approved a bill which Professor Riley had drafted, providing for the creation of a state Department of Archives and History, and Dunbar Rowland was chosen to be its director. In Arkansas, influenced by the action of Alabama and Mississippi and by the work of Professor J. H. Reynolds of the state university, the legislature provided in 1905 for the appointment of a History Commission to make a survey of the records for the history of the state. With Professor Reynolds as secretary, the Commission completed and published a report similar in character to those of Alabama and Mississippi. In 1909 the legislature provided for a reorganized History Commission, with a secretary as its administrative officer, similar in power and duties to the departments of archives and history in Alabama and Mississippi, but it failed for four years to appropriate money even

for the payment of the secretary's salary, and has never provided adequate financial support.

Meanwhile, in 1905, West Virginia's legislature created its Department of Archives and History, with an historian and archivist in charge; and South Carolina established an Historical Commission, with an administrative secretary, to serve as the archival and historical agency of that state. Two years later North Carolina's legislature took similar action. It enlarged the powers and duties of an Historical Commission which had been established in 1903, making it the archival and historical agency of the state. Mr. R. D. W. Connor became the first secretary of this new Historical Commission, as he had been of the old one, and was largely responsible for making it one of the recognized leaders in state archival and historical work in the United States. Recently the North Carolina legislature has enacted laws which place that state in the forefront of Southern states in archival legislation as well as accomplishment. In Georgia provision was made for the office of Compiler of State Records in 1902, with the result that a number of volumes of valuable documents relating to the Colonial, Revolutionary, and Confederate periods of Georgia's history were published, but it was not until 1918 that a Department of Archives and History was established. Maryland, with its Hall of Records, is the latest addition to the group of states which have separate state agencies in which are combined the functions of an archival establishment and an historical society.

In Virginia, in 1906, a Department of Archives and History was organized as a unit of the State Library. In Tennessee, by the Reorganization Act of 1923, provision was made for a Division of Library and Archives in the Department of Education. Kentucky has a Department of Library and Archives. In Texas responsibility for the preservation of the records of Texas history is vested in both the State Library and the University of Texas, the former in practice giving its chief attention to state archives and the latter, with some notable exceptions, to other types of records. Two years ago the Louisiana legislature made the Archives Department of Louisiana State University the chief archival and historical agency of the state government. In West Virginia an

anomalous situation has been created. With the Department of Archives and History at Charleston continuing in existence, the state legislature in 1934 gave permission to custodians of state and county archives to turn over their records to the Division of Documents of West Virginia University at Morgantown. In Oklahoma the State Historical Society is the archival and historical agency of the state. Florida appears to be the only Southern state which has not, in some degree, followed the example set by Alabama in 1901.

The general pattern, then, of governmental organization for the preservation of the records of Southern history has taken the form of a separate state agency, or a separate unit of a state agency, charged with the triple duty of taking custody of and preserving the noncurrent public records of the state, of collecting for preservation other records of the state's history, and of taking action otherwise to increase and diffuse knowledge of that history. This duty has been met by those agencies in widely varying degrees. Some few have placed themselves among the nation's leaders; some give promise soon of winning such a place; some lag far behind. If adequate support can be secured, all of them could do much more than has yet been done.

More recently than the states, the Federal government has given its attention to the preservation of the records of Southern history. The Library of Congress, particularly through its Division of Manuscripts, has acquired many newspapers, other printed materials, personal papers, and transcripts or film copies from archives and other repositories abroad. The last are particularly valuable for the Colonial period of Southern history. The National Archives is taking custody of great quantities of the records of the Federal government, among them much of outstanding value for the history of the South, and is making them conveniently available for consultation by students. Within the past few weeks, for example, such of the archives of the Confederate States of America as were in the possession of the department of war, formerly stored in a garage in Washington, have been brought into the Archives Building. The National Park Service of the department of the interior is preserving many historic sites in the South. The Public Works Administration

has helped construct many buildings in the South in which records will be more safely and more conveniently housed than heretofore. Notable among these are buildings to be occupied by the Alabama Department of Archives and History in Montgomery and the North Carolina Historical Commission in Raleigh. The Works Progress Administration, as a part of its relief program, has spent millions of dollars on work which is of great importance for all persons who are interested in the history of the South. Its Survey of Federal Archives has inventoried practically all of the records of the Federal government now in the Southern states and these inventories are being published in mimeograph form. Its Historic American Buildings Survey has made measured drawings and photographs of hundreds of the South's most historic buildings, and gathered information for a comprehensive history of architecture in the South. Most important of all, its Historical Records Survey is engaged upon an ambitious program which includes the inventorying of state, county, municipal, and church archives and institutional and private collections of manuscripts, the compilation of catalogs of early imprints, and the calendaring and indexing of documents, etc., in all the Southern states. Much of the results of its work has been or will be published. Many local projects of the Works Progress Administration have rendered assistance of various kinds to those who have records of Southern history in their custody.

In addition to what the state and Federal governments have done, much valuable work has been accomplished by nongovernmental agencies. In an earlier period local historical societies, often dominated by some one man or a small group of men, preserved records which otherwise would have been destroyed, or built up valuable collections only to have them destroyed. Individuals with the collector's instinct or with plans for the writing of local histories made their collections. Of recent years some universities have had marked success in developing collections of manuscripts, newspapers, pamphlets, books, etc., in the field of Southern history. Notable among these are the University of Texas, the University of North Carolina, Duke University, Louisiana State University, the University of Virginia, and West Virginia University.

Many other institutions have done similar work in their special fields of interest.

In spite of the fact that much has been done to preserve the records of the history of the South and that notable progress has been made in many respects in most recent years, there is much more that needs to be done if we would make available the records needed by the present generation for its study of the past and provide for future generations those records of our own which they will need when they come to study us in historical perspective. One of our major needs is that there be in each state a unit of the state government whose sole concern shall be the preservation of the official records in the state, the systematic collection and preservation of other records relating to the state's history, the making of them conveniently accessible for consultation, the furnishing of information from them, the execution of a carefully formulated plan of publication, and the dissemination otherwise of information regarding the state's history to its citizens and others. This historical commission or department of archives and history—its name is of no importance—should be professional in its administration and in its personnel. The director or secretary should be appointed for a long term of office on the basis of professional qualifications and not because of political affiliations or for sentimental reasons. It should normally be expected that he have a doctoral degree in history from a reputable university or the equivalent of such a degree, some training in or study of archival science, and that he also have those qualities of personality which are obviously necessary for the successful occupancy of such a position. Such an agency for the preservation of historical records might well be closely associated with the state university as is the case now in Louisiana, or with some other educational institution, when circumstances make such an arrangement desirable.

To such an agency, if its professional character can be assured, should be given greater authority than has yet been given to any of our existing agencies. It should have power to inspect all public records, state, county, and municipal, to prescribe regulations for their safekeeping, and to compel obedience to these regulations. It should have author-



ity to transfer to its custody all noncurrent records which it deems worthy of preservation. It should be the agency for recommending to the legislative authorities which records should be destroyed, upon the request of the agency concerned, and no destruction without such action should be permitted. It should undertake systematically to collect for its state such records as have previously been referred to in this address as the records of Southern history. It should classify, catalog, calendar, and otherwise facilitate the use of the voluminous records which it would accumulate. It should undertake a program of publication even more extensive than, for example, that at one time engaged in by the Mississippi Department of Archives and History or that consistently followed by the North Carolina Historical Commission.

Such an agency should of course be given adequate financial support, or, whatever the powers and duties vested in it by law, it will be as ineffectual in meeting present-day and future problems as some of our state agencies now are. It must have an adequate building, not only fireproof and provided with modern devices for the preservation of records, but spacious enough to house the accumulations of valuable records which sometimes seem to be on the point of overwhelming us. It must have money for equipment, for publication, and for a professionally trained and sufficiently numerous staff. Too often our failures in the past have resulted in large part because of inadequate financial support. There is much wisdom in the comment of a former president of this Association, "Though poverty may not curb the imagination, it stifles action."

Above all else we need an awakened public interest in the problems of preserving the records of our history. The existence of the Southern Historical Association is both evidence of the existence of an interest in our history and a means of increasing that interest. We need in each state to have active societies with similar purposes, and in our smaller units of government local societies concerned with the history of those localities and the records thereof. What has been done in the past has been done in a hit-and-miss fashion. What records we have now are in considerable

part the result of chance. What we should do now is to plan, under competent professional leadership, to preserve the records of our Southern history in the future and to make use of them for an increasing knowledge of that history and thereby an increasingly comprehensive understanding of that particular part of the United States in which we live.

# Culture Versus Frontier in Tennessee

## 1825-1850

By F. GARVIN DAVENPORT

The intellectual life of Tennessee from 1825 to 1850 revolved around the person of Philip Lindsley who became president of Cumberland College (later the University of Nashville) in 1824. The career of this pioneer educator, with its disappointments and disillusionments, may be taken as typical of all intellectual leaders who attempted to carry enlightenment and culture from the East to the West.

Philip Lindsley (1786-1855), the son of Isaac and Phoebe Lindsley, was born near Morristown, New Jersey. He received most of his primary education at home, although he was in sporadic attendance at boarding and grammar schools. In 1799 he entered Robert Finley's new academy at Basking Ridge, New Jersey. This academy became known as one of the best in the country and it is evident that Finley made a deep and lasting impression on Lindsley, who regarded him in later years as a model educator.<sup>1</sup>

Lindsley left Finley's school in 1802 and entered the College of New Jersey (later Princeton) as a junior and graduated with the bachelor of arts degree in 1804. After various teaching experiences he returned to Princeton in 1807 and received the master of arts degree in September of that year. The president of the college, Samuel Stanhope Smith, who admired Lindsley, persuaded him to remain to tutor in Greek and Latin and to study theology. For the next seventeen years he was closely as-

<sup>1</sup> L. J. Halsey (ed.), *The Works of Philip Lindsley, D.D.*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1866), I, 11-18; III, 10-27; W. B. Sprague (ed.), *Annals of the American Pulpit*, 5 vols. (New York, 1858), IV, 465. Robert Finley (1772-1817) was a Presbyterian clergyman and the organizer of the American Colonization Society.

sociated with Princeton.<sup>2</sup> The period of his residence, from his acceptance of the tutorship in 1807 to his resignation and removal to Nashville in 1824, was important in relation to his subsequent career as an educator. In 1810 he was licensed to preach by the presbytery of New Brunswick, New Jersey. In 1812 he was promoted to a senior tutorship at Princeton and the next year he became professor of languages. He was also college librarian during most of this seventeen-year period, a position for which he was well suited because of his love for books. In 1817 he was ordained by the presbytery of New Brunswick and in the same year he was elected vice-president of the college. From 1822 to 1823 he was acting president and could have been president had he so desired. This honor, however, he declined, as he did similar offers from Transylvania University, Ohio University, and at first, Cumberland College.<sup>3</sup>

Why did he finally yield to the importunities of the Nashville school? Probably because he saw possibilities in the Southwest which were not disclosed to less farsighted men; probably, too, because the educational needs of the new region challenged his ambitions and his ingenuity. Be that as it may, Lindsley visited Nashville in 1824, and when he returned to Princeton he had made his decision. He was ready to cast his lot with the struggling institution beyond the Alleghenies.

It was the day before Christmas, 1824, that Lindsley and his family arrived in Nashville. There was a sharp contrast between this immature village on the Cumberland and the Eastern environment to which the Lindsleys were accustomed. Even so, in spite of its primitive aspects, the town must have appeared as a veritable oasis to the weary travelers after the tortuous journey over the mountains. Exactly how Lindsley reacted to this new environment is difficult to tell. Being a newcomer, he was diplomatic enough to refrain from stating openly his opinions. However, within a few years he published in the Nashville papers anonymous essays which, it would seem, reflected in an exaggerated and humorous manner the true thoughts in his mind.

Over the pseudonym, "An Old Field Pedagogue," Lindsley declared

<sup>2</sup> Sprague (ed.), *Annals of the American Pulpit*, IV, 465-66.

<sup>3</sup> Halsey (ed.), *Works of Philip Lindsley*, I, 12-13.

that nothing in Tennessee ever reached perfection. There were no good fruits or garden vegetables and quality meat was scarce. The same was true of fish, butter, cheese, and pumpkin pies. In general there was "nothing but cotton, tobacco, corn, whiskey, Negroes and swine, and these not worth the growing."<sup>4</sup> Obviously, Lindsley was not too well pleased with Tennessee food products. Continuing in this satirical mood, he wrote: "Everything degenerates in Tennessee. Doctors are made by guess . . . lawyers by magic . . . parsons by inspiration . . . legislators by grog . . . merchants by Mammon . . . farmers by necessity . . . editors and schoolmasters by St. Nicholas."<sup>5</sup>

Lindsley found the population of Nashville and Tennessee mobile and restless. This was characteristic of frontier and semifrontier regions, and Tennessee was no exception. Nashville was subjected, more or less willingly, to the charlatanry and knavery of migratory entertainers. Jugglers, animal trainers, ropewalkers, fiddlers, fire-eaters, lecturers, to say nothing of panaceists of all types, visited the river towns, fooled the people, and with what cash they were able to obtain left in a hurry by the first boat.<sup>6</sup>

Beggars, false and bona fide, were seen frequently on the streets of Nashville and it was not unusual for them to stop at the homes of the well-to-do citizens to ask for work or to beg for alms. The false beggars were the greatest nuisance. These men posed as alienated or orphaned Turks, Russians, Germans, Italians, or Spaniards, and they carried duly certified papers telling their tales of woe. Within a period of three years Lindsley was visited by 259 "shipwrecked Germans, Spaniards, and Portuguese" and other beggars of all sorts.<sup>7</sup> These characters indicated by signs that they could not speak English and invariably presented forged credentials in English which spoke and lied for them. Some beggars were content to be American citizens, especially if they had fought in the War of 1812 or in some Indian uprising. Lindsley was impressed by

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 629.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 630; *National Banner and Nashville Whig*, May 25, 1831; *National Banner and Nashville Daily Advertiser*, May 7, 1833.

<sup>7</sup> Halsey (ed.), *Works of Philip Lindsley*, III, 611.

two crippled soldiers who paid him a visit. According to their story, they had fought with Jackson at New Orleans and "had been dying ever since."<sup>8</sup>

Lindsley thought that some of the habits of Tennessee gentlemen were as crude as those of beggars. The common practice of spitting tobacco juice over the floor was offensive to him. He declared that "the habit of spitting acquired and rendered unavoidable by the practice of chewing tobacco is so offensive to all well-bred people as to exact some surprise that *gentlemen* should continue it."<sup>9</sup> Tennessee tobacco-chewing enthusiasts were as apt to spit on the floor of the church as on the floor of a saloon. Lindsley himself had some unfortunate experiences with tobacco juice during church services that "put all devotion out of countenance."<sup>10</sup>

In 1825 Nashville, the new home of the Lindsleys, was still a backwoods town and yet it was able to boast of certain appurtenances of civilization. A reading room was open to accommodate "the news-monger, lounge, and stranger" as well as those few citizens who were studiously inclined. This establishment was maintained by subscription and contained many of the principal American newspapers and a few copies of popular literary works.<sup>11</sup>

Even at this early date the medical profession was quite well represented but doubtless some of the so-called "physicians" were merely quacks. Dentists, too, were practicing their trade.<sup>12</sup> In March, 1825, five Nashville physicians were appointed by the Mayor and Board of Aldermen to constitute a board of health.<sup>13</sup> This body had no real authority, no definite aims, and apparently accomplished nothing.<sup>14</sup> However, it was a step in the right direction although Nashville was destined to wait until after the Civil War for its first permanently organized board of sanitation.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 612.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 623.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 624.

<sup>11</sup> Nashville *Whig*, February 28, May 14, 1825.

<sup>12</sup> *National Banner and Nashville Daily Advertiser*, January 3, 1833, *et seq.*; *National Banner and Nashville Whig*, February 3, 1829.

<sup>13</sup> Nashville *Whig*, March 12, 1825.

<sup>14</sup> *National Banner and Nashville Daily Advertiser*, April 8, 1833.

As early as 1826, Nashville had a museum of "natural and artificial curiosities."<sup>15</sup> The fine arts, too, were represented in a pale sort of way by traveling artists who exhibited oil paintings in hastily improvised studios.<sup>16</sup> Most surprising of all was the interest shown in the drama which had been introduced to Nashville before 1820.<sup>17</sup> In 1826 a new theater, incidentally the town's third since 1819, was erected at a cost of \$20,000.<sup>18</sup> Such an institution seems almost incongruous, but Nashville was a town of strange contrasts. If at first thought oil paintings, museums of natural history, and grease paint seem anachronous in a town still partly composed of log cabins, it must be remembered that Nashville was the most important town in Tennessee, and hence a logical place for speculators and promoters of all types to exercise their genius. Furthermore, many of the citizens were doubtless half starved for entertainment, and they turned to the theater as a happy escape from the drabness of life in a rural town. The crassness of the histrionics and the discomfort of the auditoriums did not daunt these pleasure seekers.

In 1825 Tennessee did not have a public school system and even in Nashville there was none for another quarter of a century. However, there were various private schools and no doubt the best of these was the Nashville Female Academy. In the realms of higher education, Cumberland College was Nashville's bid for fame. When Lindsley became president in 1824, the institution was already eighteen years old but had made little headway against the evils of frontier ignorance and prejudice. Lindsley's education, experience, and ambitions fitted him for the difficult task of building a university although he was to find the task in Tennessee much more difficult than he expected.

It was typical of Lindsley that from the very beginning of his presidency of Cumberland College he set his aims and his ambitions on the highest plane, although he realized that he might never live to see his plans become actualities. "Let us aim at perfection," he said, and this

<sup>15</sup> Nashville *Whig and Banner*, June 22, 1826.

<sup>16</sup> Nashville *Whig*, July 16, August 13, 1825.

<sup>17</sup> Douglas L. Hunt, "The Nashville Theatre, 1830-1840," in *Birmingham-Southern College Bulletin* (Birmingham), XXVIII (1935), No. 3, pp. 3-8.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 13; *National Banner and Nashville Whig*, October 11, 1826.

became his motto.<sup>19</sup> In his inaugural address in 1825 and in subsequent lectures, he made public his plans for what he termed "The grand experiment." He wished to build a university that would rank with the best educational institutions of Europe. His enthusiasm inspired the state legislature, on November 27, 1826, to incorporate the officers and trustees of Cumberland College as the University of Nashville.<sup>20</sup> Thus Lindsley's visionary institution became at least a legal actuality, and on January 2, 1829, the *National Banner and Nashville Whig* was able to announce that "the cause of learning has advanced amongst us . . . with a steady, if not accelerated pace."

As a matter of fact, the University of Nashville was struggling against odds and the main obstacles to success were associated with what may be termed the frontier tradition. Any thesis that maintains that Tennessee was always on a high cultural plane because of the intellectual qualities possessed by some of the pioneer leaders completely ignores the fact that these leaders were soon swamped by the wave of ignorance that followed them. A certain amount of intelligence and initiative was necessary to blaze the trails, lay out the towns, and build the foundations of government, but no special ability or training was necessary to follow a trail that was wide open and peculiarly alluring. Consequently the leaders were followed by the common herd which included shyster lawyers, fake preachers, ignorant farmers, and fugitives from justice. In Tennessee this element constituted a bulwark against enlightenment and was the cause of lamentation on the part of Lindsley and a few other public men who possessed both the background and instincts of cultured gentlemen.

In 1830 John Bell, prominent Nashville lawyer, found "the rude and fearful spectre of arts unduly prized, learning generally unappreciated, and every effort to create a thirst for science and a taste for general improvement paralyzed by the cold indifference of the better informed and by popular jealousy and suspicion."<sup>21</sup> According to Bell, the best farmers of Tennessee, while living in plenty, had no desire for the ad-

<sup>19</sup> Halsey (ed.), *Works of Philip Lindsley*, I, 106.

<sup>20</sup> *Tennessee Acts of a Local or Private Nature*, 1826, pp. 45-46.

<sup>21</sup> John Bell, *An Address Delivered at Nashville, October 5, 1830, Being the First Anniversary of the Alumni Society of the University of Nashville* (Nashville, 1830), 4.



vantages of cultivated society. The same was true, he declared, with respect to merchants, physicians, lawyers, and clergymen, "except such individuals of these respective classes as have been graciously supplied from the intellectual redundancy of our sister states."<sup>22</sup> And those graciously supplied were in the minority, if not actually scarce. Bell realized that the minds of a frontier or semifrontier people were "in a forest state," and that it was necessary to clear away physical and mental encumbrances before a mature society could develop. He believed that Nashville in 1830 had passed this incipient stage, and that its citizens should take more interest in cultural and intellectual affairs.<sup>23</sup>

Of the same opinion was William G. Hunt, another Nashville lawyer of the better type. In an address to the literary societies of the University of Nashville in 1831, he declared: "Whatever might be admitted of the inaptitude of an infant settlement in the wilderness for letters and the arts, the time has surely arrived in this community when such an apology for neglecting learning can no longer be offered with plausibility or propriety."<sup>24</sup> Both Bell and Hunt realized that Nashville lacked the finer elements of civilization; both declared that the frontier status had been the initial cause of the condition. But they underestimated the strength of the frontier forces still at work, and consequently the rapid cultural development which they desired was an impossibility.

Even as late as the thirties and forties there were Tennesseans who possessed an aversion for education and cultural life that was almost fanatical. John Caldwell, one of the early promoters of the Ducktown copper mines, told the people of the community that as soon as the mines were opened their condition would be improved "and that civilization, intelligence, comfort, and wealth would be the inevitable results." Whereupon one of the members of the crowd arose and informed Caldwell that a large portion of the inhabitants of the region had come there to get away from civilization, and if it followed them they would leave the country.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>24</sup> *National Banner and Nashville Whig*, April 22, 1831.

<sup>25</sup> James M. Safford, *A Geological Reconnaissance of the State of Tennessee* (Nashville, 1855), 61.

In order to understand the antieducational forces at work in Tennessee it is necessary to examine first of all the problem of the public lands. When the state was authorized in 1806 to appropriate the vacant lands within its boundary, the Federal government decreed that 100,000 acres should be set aside for the support of two colleges, one to be located in East Tennessee and one in West Tennessee. Congress stipulated these lands to be sold for not less than \$2.00 per acre, thus creating an endowment of \$100,000 for each college. Unfortunately, when the legislature proceeded to execute these provisions, it was discovered that the only land on which the college claims could be located was a large tract south of the French Broad and Holston rivers. This tract was occupied by farmers to whom the state government had promised land titles at the rate of \$1.00 per acre. Obviously, at the outset the potential educational fund was cut in half.<sup>26</sup>

This was only the beginning of the difficulty. The settlers of the region were viewed in the light of pioneer heroes and consequently no persistent effort was made to collect the money that they owed the state government, part of which would have been used to endow the University of Nashville. Every attempt on the part of the state to collect the debt was frustrated by a powerful minority. Of course, this minority group represented the semifrontier farmers who occupied the land in question and it was natural for them to foster the interests of their constituents. Bell maintained that the farmers, many of whom were illiterate, jumped at the conclusion that the colleges were trying to force the money from them and perhaps oust them from their land.<sup>27</sup>

Farmers throughout the state sympathized with those on the college grant lands and gave them moral support. Thus there grew up a widespread and bitter feeling of opposition towards all institutions of learning. This prejudice, once formed, became deep-rooted and difficult to eradicate. Because of it Lindsley feared for the future of the farmers. He believed that because of their ignorance and because they denied

<sup>26</sup> Bell, *An Address Delivered at Nashville, October 5, 1830*, p. 8; *Annals of Congress*, 9 Cong., 1 Sess., XV, Appendix, 1262-65 (April 18, 1806).

<sup>27</sup> Bell, *An Address Delivered at Nashville, October 5, 1830*, p. 8.

their children an education, they would gradually sink into comparative insignificance. "Were it in my power," he stated, "I would visit every farmer in Tennessee who is not already awake, and endeavor to arouse him from his fatal lethargy . . . and urge him to reclaim his abandoned rights and his lost dignity by giving to his sons that measure of instruction which will qualify them to assert and to maintain their just superiority in the councils of the State and of the Nation. . . . Educate your son in the best manner possible, because you expect him to be a *man* and not a *horse* or an *ox*."<sup>28</sup>

But the rural people, and the townspeople too, clung to misconceptions which tended to thwart Lindsley's plans to diffuse knowledge throughout the state. There was an idea prevalent in the minds of Tennesseans that colleges and universities were beneficial only to the rich. This was a typical frontier attitude, intensified in Tennessee because of the difficulties which had occurred among the poor farmers, the universities, and the state legislature. Year after year Lindsley attempted to batter down this prejudice. It was absurd, he thought, to deprecate and to denounce colleges as being hostile to the interests of the poor and beneficial only to the wealthy. He maintained that the affluent made sacrifices in order to build, endow, and maintain these institutions and that the poor reaped the principal advantage.<sup>29</sup>

In both urban and rural districts, Lindsley found himself face to face with frontier egotism and the frontier attitude of self-sufficiency. Of what use was education to people who had wrested an empire from the wilderness? Lindsley attempted to point out to them their inferiority in every field of education. He warned them that vanity and incessant boasting was not the way to progress and enlightenment. Continuing on this subject, he asserted: "While we cherish this arrogant, supercilious, overweening, self-sufficient spirit, we shall never seek nor desire improvement, because we fancy that the very acme of human excellence has been attained."<sup>30</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Halsey (ed.), *Works of Philip Lindsley*, I, 225-26.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 231.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 243-44.

One of the most powerful anticultural forces that tended to keep alive the self-sufficient spirit was frontier religion. To 1840 the three important denominations in Tennessee were the Presbyterians, the Methodists, and the Baptists, and only the first, which was also the weakest, can be considered as a cultural force. Unlike its two powerful rivals, the Presbyterian church insisted on an educated clergy and looked with special favor on a man with several college degrees. It is not surprising to discover that the first group of college trained men on the frontier were Presbyterians, and in Tennessee Philip Lindsley became the most influential. Even the Great Revival, probably the most important movement in the American churches in the nineteenth century, was started by a Presbyterian, James McGready.<sup>31</sup>

The Presbyterians, however, although first on the scene in the frontier regions, were unable to maintain a paramount position as the frontier civilization expanded and matured. This was due to several causes to be found within the denomination itself. In the first place, each minister was allowed only two, or at the most three congregations. Consequently, Presbyterian cultural influence was generally localized. Secondly, the inelastic Calvinistic doctrine came into conflict with frontier philosophy, a factor which enabled the Methodists, Baptists, and later the Christians (Disciples), with their loose organization and more informal creeds, to claim most of the converts. Finally, the Presbyterian church, in an attempt to adjust itself to frontier conditions during the years 1800-1840, was weakened by internal controversy. Thus the Presbyterians, champions of education, were greatly handicapped and in a certain sense became a victim of their own intellectuality. In 1833 there were only sixty-eight Presbyterian ministers in Tennessee or about one to ten thousand inhabitants.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>31</sup> William W. Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier*, II, *The Presbyterians, 1783-1840* (New York, 1936), 69 ff.; Donald G. Tewksbury, *The Founding of American Colleges and Universities before the Civil War* (New York, 1932), 91-103; T. C. Anderson, *Life of Rev. George Donnell, First Pastor of the Church in Lebanon; with a Sketch of the Scotch-Irish Race* (Nashville, 1858), 152 ff.

<sup>32</sup> Extracts from a letter from Absalom Peters to Benjamin H. Rice, Florence, Alabama, February 28, 1833, in Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier*, II, 679. Peters and Rice were secretaries of the American Home Mission Society. See, also, *ibid.*, 69 ff., 82 ff. It should be noted that Tewksbury, in his interesting study, *Founding of American Colleges*

Lindsley attempted to maintain a nonsectarian university in Nashville but the people were not likely to forget in this age of religious sensitiveness that he was a Presbyterian with degrees from an Eastern college and hence out of sympathy with the frontier mind. He represented a minority group that was for the most part out of favor. The majority of the people in Tennessee were either Baptists or Methodists and so for sectarian reasons alone, it was inevitable that a certain amount of suspicion should hover over the head of the President of the University of Nashville.

However, in this connection, sectarianism can be considered only as a minor cause. The major force was to be found in the antieducational teachings of the Baptists and Methodists. The latter were not interested in education and frequently showed actual hostility towards it. The preacher who shouted the loudest, gossiped the most, and kissed the greatest number of babies was more popular than the minister with a college degree and a trunk full of polished sermons. It was claimed that when sinners were falling into hell every day, something more potent than collegiate finesse was needed to counteract the evil influence of Satan. In 1846 a Presbyterian missionary, writing from Arkansas, declared that most of the Methodists were "deplorably ignorant, bitterly sectarian, and wildly fanatical." This description could be applied to Tennessee and Kentucky Methodists without changing a word, although by 1850 they were becoming less fanatical in the two older states.<sup>83</sup>

The greatest factor in the rapid growth of Methodism in Tennessee was the itinerant system. The Methodists did not wait for the people to come to their churches. They took their religion on tour and preached the gospel at every village and crossroads. Frequently a single Methodist preacher traveled a circuit with twenty to twenty-five ports of call which might range from a frontier shack to the state legislature. With

*and Universities before the Civil War*, 102, states that the schisms caused by frontier forces "were not allowed to interfere appreciably with the church program of higher education." He admits, however, that frontier conditions prevented liberal support for colleges in the West and South. *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>83</sup> C. Washburn to Rev. Messrs. Badger and Hall, Benton County, Arkansas, September 8, 1846, in Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier*, II, 695 ff., especially 697. See, also, *ibid.*, 221-22.

such a system it is little wonder that they outdistanced their better educated Presbyterian rivals. The latter, with more permanent parishes, were able to make local cultural contributions, but the communities influenced in this way were few compared to those under the thumb of the more virulent Methodist itinerant.<sup>34</sup>

If anything the Baptists were more ignorant and more hostile to education than the Methodists. A. H. Newman, in his study of Baptist churches in the United States,<sup>35</sup> sets forth the idea that this prejudice against education and especially against an educated clergy can be traced back to colonial days when they were forced to support through taxation impious clergymen who had nothing to recommend them except their college degrees. Undoubtedly this was an important factor but it does not rule out of the picture Baptist teachings and frontier influences.

In Tennessee, the greatest religious obstacle to education was a denomination called the Antimission Baptists. They were opposed to academic and theological education and to all societies and organizations working for the spiritual and social welfare of man. Members of this sect believed that preachers were called to the ministry by divine revelations and that any attempt on the part of the preacher to educate himself was sinful. It was their belief, too, that the divine spirit chose the text for the preacher and caused him to deliver the sermon based upon it. To study a subject or make any preparation before delivering a sermon was an insult to God's intelligence and was considered heretical. Everything was left to God. He would redeem His elect in due time and any attempt to assist Him by means of educational or missionary organizations was presumptuous if not blasphemous. In 1846 there were 10,186 Antimission Baptists in Tennessee. Only one other state, Georgia, had a larger number. Kentucky ranked third. This is an indication that as late as the forties the frontier influence was still strong in

<sup>34</sup> A good idea of the duties of a Tennessee itinerant preacher can be obtained by a study of an autobiographical work, *The Life and Times of the Rev. Carroll C. Mayhew* (Nashville, 1857). See, also, F. D. Srygley, *Seventy Years in Dixie* (Nashville, 1891), 176-97; Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier*, II, 69-70; *id.*, *Methodism in American History* (New York, 1933), 221-22.

<sup>35</sup> A. H. Newman, *History of the Baptist Churches in the United States* (New York, 1915), 336.

these states because, as Sweet remarks, the Antimission Baptists were "strongest where educational facilities were lacking and where the people were out of touch with the usual cultural influences."<sup>36</sup>

It seems that Lindsley was attempting to build a university in the face of opposition variously manifested. Nashville was indeed becoming a cultural oasis but the city was not representative of the entire state. If religious activities may be taken as a criterion, there are indications that the intellectual life of certain rural regions was close to the frontier level throughout the period. Many of the people and many of the preachers knew of only one book and that was the Bible, and all they knew about the Bible was that it was supposed to contain texts for sermons.<sup>37</sup> Many texts, however, never came from the scriptures and frequently sermons were based on popular axioms such as "A stitch in time save nine," or "Every tub shall stand on its own bottom."<sup>38</sup>

It was not uncommon for country preachers to gamble and drink hard liquor. Occasionally they took "indelicate liberties" with the young women in their congregations.<sup>39</sup> Drinking was as common as eating. Srygley reports in his humorous style that "no man could maintain a good character as a church member without keeping constantly on hand enough spirits to stimulate the parson on his monthly visits."<sup>40</sup> In 1834 in Kingston, Tennessee, the Baptists were operating a profitable whiskey distillery. They were opposed to temperance societies and claimed that such organizations were contrary to American liberty and if not checked would eventually destroy both church and state. The Baptists in the same region believed that Sunday schools and Bible societies were responsible for the cholera epidemics!<sup>41</sup>

Any study of the anticultural forces in Tennessee before 1850 would be incomplete without a consideration of the influence of Daniel Parker

<sup>36</sup> Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier*, I, 66-67, 66 n.; Srygley, *Seventy Years in Dixie*, 191-99.

<sup>37</sup> Srygley, *Seventy Years in Dixie*, 191-99.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> See records of various cases listed in the index under "Discipline," in Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier*, I, II.

<sup>40</sup> Srygley, *Seventy Years in Dixie*, 176.

<sup>41</sup> Thomas Brown to Rev. A. Peters, Kingston, Tennessee, September 16, 1834, in Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier*, II, 682.

and Alexander Campbell. Parker was born in Culpeper County, Virginia, and spent his childhood in Georgia. He was brought up in poverty with little education but, being a Baptist, this was not a handicap. In 1803 he was preaching in Dixon County, Tennessee, and from 1806 to 1817 he was living in Sumner County close to the Kentucky line and preaching in both states. In his own words, Parker was "a man of war" and he spent considerable time fighting doctrinal battles with the Methodists. His forceful opposition to benevolent societies, missions, theological schools, and education in general made a deep impression on a number of Tennesseans.<sup>42</sup>

Alexander Campbell (1788-1866) exercised a wider influence. From 1813 to 1830 he was a Baptist and through the columns of his paper, the *Christian Baptist*, he carried on a merciless campaign against an educated clergy and all cultural organizations for which he could not find scriptural authority. By nature Campbell was a controversialist and he has been described as "one born to command."<sup>43</sup> His words carried weight as far as his paper circulated and it found its way into homes throughout the West and South.<sup>44</sup>

In an open letter to the students of Hamilton Seminary, New York, Campbell declared that the *Christian Baptist* "never has looked with a benign aspect either upon the professors of theological schools, nor their disciples."<sup>45</sup> He expressed the same opinion in an editorial that ridiculed the *Boston Recorder* for its interest in the American Education Society and the campaign in the East to produce better educated ministers. "The scheme of a learned priesthood chiefly composed of beneficiaries," he wrote, "has long since proved itself to be a grand desire to keep men in ignorance and bondage."<sup>46</sup> Campbell believed the values attributed to education were exaggerated, especially when applied to the ministry. He was stubborn in his belief that the Bible needed no explanation by

<sup>42</sup> J. H. Spencer, *A History of Kentucky Baptists from 1769 to 1885*, 2 vols. (Cincinnati, 1885), I, 575.

<sup>43</sup> *American Christian Review* (Cincinnati, 1856-1857), I (1856), 381.

<sup>44</sup> In 1827 the Nashville agent for the *Christian Baptist* was Moses Norvell. *Christian Baptist* (Bethany, 1823-1829), IV (1827), 216.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, II (issue of November, 1826, in second edition, 1827), 84-89.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, I (issue of September, 1823, in second edition, 1827), 45-47.



lectures, expositions, commentaries, annotations, or books of any kind. The divine spirit was responsible for the Bible, and for man to attempt to explain the scriptures was sacrilegious as no man was justified in questioning God's intelligence.<sup>47</sup> A correspondent of the *Christian Baptist* gave a final touch to Campbell's ideas on education when he wrote, "the generality of mankind can never, in any possible circumstances, have leisure or capacity for learning or profound contemplation."<sup>48</sup> This was a pessimistic extension of Campbell's theory to apply to all mankind.

The similarity between the ideas expressed in the columns of the *Christian Baptist* and the attitudes exhibited by the laymen and preachers in Tennessee is significant. Of course, there is no way of measuring accurately the influence of the paper as a negative force in the development of Western and Southern education and care should be taken not to overemphasize its importance. At the same time there are certain salient facts that deserve careful consideration. The *Baptist* had a wide circulation, Campbell was a recognized leader, and he expressed vehement opposition to clerical education. It is difficult to determine whether or not he was opposed to general education for the laymen, but his ideas could be easily interpreted to include all educational institutions and they were probably utilized in this manner to give authoritative support to prejudices nurtured by the frontier mind.

It is significant, too, that Tennessee and Nashville had a closer contact with the divine of Bethany than that afforded by his religious journal. He visited Nashville in 1826 and again in 1830. In 1826 he spent several weeks in the capital city and preached to large audiences, and in 1830 he was given a warm reception by the crowds that turned out to hear him. During his second visit he was inveigled into a controversy with Obadiah Jennings, the pastor of the Nashville Presbyterian Church. Here was a debate between the disciple of higher education and the agent of the anticultural forces, who was an experienced and expert disputant. In spite of the fact that the Presbyterians claimed the victory, Campbell seems to have maintained his position unshaken, a fact which

<sup>47</sup> Alexander Campbell, "On teaching Christianity, no. III," *ibid.*, I (issue of January, 1824, in second edition, 1827), 104-109.

<sup>48</sup> Dr. Beatties' letter, *ibid.*, I (issue of August, 1823, in second edition, 1827), 25.

increased his influence in Tennessee and which caused Lindsley's influence to decrease, at least temporarily. About a decade later Campbell revised his views but this change of attitude had little effect upon the history of education in Tennessee during the period under review.<sup>49</sup>

The influence of the frontier mind as a negative force in Tennessee's social and cultural development was indeed potent. After ten years of persistent labor, Lindsley realized that he had expected too much of the people of his adopted state. He had aimed at perfection, but in 1837 he had secured only "an element—a mere atom—a foundation—a nucleus—a corner stone—a first essay towards the glorious consummation and perfection of my own cherished hopes and anticipations."<sup>50</sup> But it was in laying the foundation of the University of Nashville that Lindsley made his contribution. Although the institution fell short of his ambitions, and toward the close of his presidency was described as having a "worm eaten appearance,"<sup>51</sup> nevertheless it became the cornerstone of the educational prominence of Nashville. He was a missionary of both common school and higher education and the increase in the number of educational institutions of all types in Tennessee during his presidency was due in no small degree to his influence. True, many of these schools had a mushroom growth, and their scholastic standards were low; all of them were less able to cope with the inevitable obstacles than the University of Nashville. At any rate, they were indicative of an awakening, however elemental it may have been.

Before the Civil War there was not enough time for social and cultural processes to develop to fruition except in certain urban localities such as Davidson County. After 1850 Nashville became an important cultural center with well-organized schools and colleges. In view of the background, it is surprising that the city contributed as much as it did before secession disrupted its natural development. The fact that Nashville and a few other communities had risen far above the frontier level of society by 1850 speaks well for the few indefatigable representatives of culture among whom Philip Lindsley may be considered a leader.

<sup>49</sup> *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell* (Cincinnati, 1870), 168, 338 ff., 524 n.

<sup>50</sup> Halsey (ed.), *Works of Philip Lindsley*, I, 399.

<sup>51</sup> *Nashville Daily Union*, October 19, 1849.

# The People, William Goebel, and the Kentucky Railroads

By THOMAS D. CLARK

There stands before the Kentucky state capitol an upright statue of William Goebel. Inscribed upon the base of this statue are what is said to be the last mortal words of this "self-appointed" friend of the people: "Tell my friends to be brave and fearless and loyal to the great common people." These words came from the lips of the northern Kentucky politician just before 6:40 p.m., February 3, 1900, when the hand of death was tightening its fatal grip.<sup>1</sup> Five days before, William Goebel, Jack Chinn, and Eph Lillard were hurriedly approaching the capitol office building; Lillard, a fast walker, was ahead; Goebel had slackened his pace to allow the stocky and winded Chinn to catch up. When Chinn was within a couple of paces of Goebel, and the latter was directly opposite the large fountain urn in front of the old capitol, there came the report of a Marlin rifle. Goebel crumpled and fell. Four more shots were fired, but none took effect.<sup>2</sup> Goebel's friends rushed him to the basement of the Capitol Hotel for medical care, and on the following day, January 31, he was sworn in as governor of the commonwealth of Kentucky.<sup>3</sup>

News that Goebel had been shot spread through Kentucky like wild-fire. Goebel Democrats were organized, and ready to go to Frankfort

<sup>1</sup> Louisville *Courier-Journal*, February 4, 1900. See, also, Lexington *Leader*, February 4, 1900.

<sup>2</sup> Louisville *Courier-Journal*, January 30, 1900. See, also, R. E. Hughes, F. W. Shaefer, and E. L. Williams, *That Kentucky Campaign; or the Law, the Ballot and the People in the Goebel-Taylor Contest* (Cincinnati, 1900), 241.

<sup>3</sup> Louisville *Courier-Journal*, January 31, 1900.

if necessary. Hundreds of persons thronged the small Kentucky River town, and a majority of these visitors were armed, not only with pistols but also with Winchester rifles.<sup>4</sup> So tense was the excitement that as the throng surged toward the Capitol Hotel, following the wounded Democratic leader, a Negro was crowded against a white man, and because of this he had a full round of pistol bullets emptied into him.<sup>5</sup> Behind this moment of near civil war in Frankfort there is a long and often devious story. What was the cause of this state of affairs? That is the burden of this paper.

Unlike the other Southern states, Kentucky retained her ante-bellum constitution until social and economic maladjustment forced the calling of a convention in 1890.<sup>6</sup> Because of the prevailing unfavorable economic conditions, the majority of the delegates who met in Frankfort on September 8 were representative of Kentucky's agrarian interest.<sup>7</sup> Corporations were the *bete noir* of the people. Counties had assumed burdens of bonded indebtedness to subsidize the building of railroads, and as agricultural prices fell in the eighties, special taxation and increasing freight rates became virtually confiscatory. It is little wonder that farmer-constitutionalists debated furiously the corporate sections of the constitution.<sup>8</sup> Railroads, obviously, were singled out as the most offensive corporations, and debates of control measures were expressed in terms of rates, pooling, rebates, drawbacks, and long and short hauls.<sup>9</sup>

Following the adoption of the present constitution in 1891, legislative plans were made to put it into effect. The legislature was called to meet in September, 1892, and remained in session for one year.<sup>10</sup> During

<sup>4</sup> There are many eastern Kentuckians who recall today having participated in this affair. See cartoons, *ibid.*, January 27, 1900. One of these comprises a half-page spread and portrays a shaggy, heavily armed body of drunken mountaineers.

<sup>5</sup> Hughes *et al.*, *That Kentucky Campaign*, 204.

<sup>6</sup> *Official Report of the Proceedings and Debates in the Convention*, 4 vols. (Frankfort, 1890), I, 3.

<sup>7</sup> Cassius M. Clay, an influential Bourbon County farmer, was elected president of the convention. *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 3; IV, 4979-5182.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 1506-1509; IV, 4979-5182, 5382-86.

<sup>10</sup> *Lexington Transcript*, September 6, 1893.

the "long parliament," as this assembly was called, an act to control corporations was passed on April 5, 1893. Governor John Young Brown, a professed friend of the "down-trodden" Kentucky farmers, refused to sign the bill largely because he believed it proposed to exercise too strict control over the Kentucky railroads.<sup>11</sup> In his message to the general assembly, he had proposed a railroad bill, but as a result of the influence which the Alliance vote exercised in the legislature, the Governor's plans went unheeded.<sup>12</sup> The bill passed by the assembly, over the executive veto, defined extortion on the part of the railroad company as the collection of more than reasonable passenger and freight rates. Not only did this act prohibit extortion through unfair rates, but it likewise forbade discrimination against cities and communities by use of drawbacks, rebates, and long and short hauls. Railroads which were believed to be guilty of extortion could be haled into the local circuit courts or into the Franklin County court for trial. The Railroad Commission was instructed to investigate all such charges and to file the evidence with the court. If a railroad was found guilty, a fine of \$500 to \$5,000 was to be levied.<sup>13</sup>

A seven-year struggle for better regulation of railroads in Kentucky centered around this act. Between 1893 and 1900 a bill proposing to nullify the act of 1893 was introduced into each succeeding assembly.<sup>14</sup> In the meantime, a new political leader had forced his way to the front.

William Goebel began his legislative career in 1888 under the tutelage of John G. Carlisle at Covington. In the constitutional convention of 1890-1891, Goebel was a hard-working and unassuming young man who looked forward steadfastly to a successful political future. He became a legislative leader after 1891, and in 1895 he worked hard, but in vain, for the election of P. Wat Hardin to the governorship.<sup>15</sup> Unfortunately, Goebel's reputation was a bit soiled by his so-called duel

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, March 4, 7, 25, 30, 1893.

<sup>12</sup> Kentucky *Senate Journal*, 1893, III, 3909, 3929, 3949.

<sup>13</sup> Kentucky *Acts*, 1893, Chap. 171, p. 612.

<sup>14</sup> For a typical example, see McChord bill, introduced as S. B. 19, in Kentucky *Senate Journal*, 1898, p. 59.

<sup>15</sup> P. Wat Hardin was a "hard-money" man.

with John Sanford in 1895, on the steps of the First National Bank of Covington. Sanford, a popular ex-Confederate soldier, was killed, and Goebel stood convicted in public opinion as a murderer.<sup>16</sup>

Following the election of William O. Bradley, Republican, to the governorship in 1895, the Democrats became aggressive. Bradley's administration faced strife at every turn. The general assembly was deadlocked, and the Governor was forced to call out the militia to prevent an open riot in the attempt to select a United States senator.<sup>17</sup> During the three years, 1895 to 1898, Goebel led the Democratic offensive.<sup>18</sup> The Senator from Kenton County had now ceased to be a dutiful heel-follower of the "hard-money" Carlisle; he was now a leader in his own right. Goebel was quick to sense the fact that political alignments in Kentucky were no longer based upon rigid hereditary partisan faiths, but upon economic conditions. Most of the Kentucky constituency was either agrarian or of agrarian origin, and the Kentucky farmers were panic-ridden. They needed a political Joshua to lead them from the wilderness of Republicanism and railroad abuse into a Jericho of Democracy and strict railway regulation. There were many volunteer Joshuas, but only one possessed the power to control the proper set of circumstances which was to make of him the people's high priest. That man was William Goebel.

Early in 1898 Goebel began his campaign against the Republicans, the Louisville and Nashville Railroad Company, the crippled, blue-blooded, ex-Confederate soldier, W. J. Stone, and Hardin, Democratic martyr of 1895. Stone represented the "people," and Hardin, so it was said, was hand-picked by August Belmont and Milton H. Smith.<sup>19</sup> Before "King

<sup>16</sup> *Lexington Press-Transcript*, April 12, 13, 17, 1895. This paper was the weekly edition of the *Lexington Herald*.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, March 18, 25, 1896.

<sup>18</sup> *Kentucky Senate Journal*, 1896, p. 13.

<sup>19</sup> *Louisville Courier-Journal*, June 16-24, 1899, gives what is perhaps the best combined news and editorial account of the Music Hall Convention in which Senator Goebel won the nomination for governor. Henry Watterson said: "In the convention which nominated Mr. Goebel for governor, the L. & N. Railroad was the main factor. After a week of battle, day and night, Mr. Goebel beat this combination the combination of brute force and money, and won the nomination; doing to his competitors—whatever he did to them—that they were not ready to do to him. Every man, woman and child in Kentucky knows

William" of Kenton<sup>20</sup> could place himself before the people, however, he had to do a certain amount of political purging.<sup>21</sup> A disciple of Carlisle, Goebel was for a long time a hard-money man, but in 1898 hard money was unpopular with a majority of the Kentucky constituency. Also, Democrats were sore for they had blundered unforgivably in 1896 when they had become confused in the presidential election and believed that if they "crossed" the first name on the ticket they voted solidly Democratic. McKinley carried Kentucky twelve to one because of this error.<sup>22</sup> The Democratic cauldron was hot; not only had a Republican been elected to the governorship, but the state had gone Republican in a national election. As for his political past and his flirtation with the bewitching hard-money disciples, Goebel cared not at all. He even blithely slammed the political closet door shut tight when the opposition revived the rumor of Sanford's murder. Goebel knew the people of Kentucky were disgruntled at corporations, or more specifically at the railroads and the American Book Company. Farmers wanted free silver, Bryan, cheap freight rates, and cheap textbooks. Thus Goebel made the spearhead of his political campaign the McChord railroad bill, the election of Joseph S. C. Blackburn to the United States Senate, the Chinn textbook bill, free silver, Bryan, and the Goebel election law.<sup>23</sup>

Few sessions of the Kentucky general assembly have been burdened with more ripper legislation than was that of 1898. Early in the session, Charles C. McChord, senator from Washington County and formerly chairman of the Railroad Commission, submitted a bill to nullify the act of April 5, 1893, and to impose upon the Kentucky railroads the

this to be the truth." Quoted from Hughes *et al.*, *That Kentucky Campaign*, 249. See, also, *Louisville Commercial*, June 17, 1899; and *Lexington Herald*, June 16-24, 1899. The editor of the *Herald* was bitterly opposed to Goebel's candidacy.

<sup>20</sup> Goebel was greeted with "Hail to William the Conqueror," or, by some more facetious friends as "King William I." These titles were bestowed upon him after he was extended the privilege of selecting the state election board.

<sup>21</sup> *Lexington Herald*, October 4, 5, 11, 1899.

<sup>22</sup> *Lexington Press-Transcript*, November 4, 11, 1896.

<sup>23</sup> S. B. 145, in *Kentucky Senate Journal*, 1898, p. 290. See, also, *Lexington Herald*, February 1-March 12, 1898.

strictest supervision by the state.<sup>24</sup> This bill was a masterpiece of legislative drafting, and, due, no doubt, to the fact that its sponsor had served for a long period as railroad commissioner, it showed a detailed knowledge of railroad operation in Kentucky. The McChord bill provided that when written complaint was made to the Railroad Commission by a shipper, either an individual or a corporation, accusing a railroad company of extortion or discrimination, the Commission was to give the railroad company ten days' notice of the time and place of hearing, and all evidence was to be submitted in writing. The Railroad Commission was entrusted with the right to determine and fix a just rate. It likewise was to act in a judicial capacity to determine the guilt of the railroad company. When a railroad was found guilty of extortion or discrimination it was made liable for a fine of \$500 to \$1,000 for the first offense, \$500 to \$2,000 for the second, and \$2,000 to \$5,000 for the third. Wisely Senator McChord stopped short of the suicidal brink for his bill when he provided that all cases in which the railroads were defendants under the law should be tried in the local circuit courts. Indictments before the courts were to be made by the Railroad Commission.

Upon the introduction of this bill, the legislature became the scene of a tug-of-war between the interests of the people and the interests of the railroads. Some of the Kentucky presses took an active part in the affray by raging and storming against the McChord bill. At Lexington, the grey-bearded Confederate, Colonel W. C. P. Breckinridge of the *Herald*, spent much editorial wrath against Goebel, McChord, and their legislative program. Beginning with his editorial of January 13, 1898, entitled "They Shirk Not," in which he said the legislature was definitely following the instructions of the steering committee composed of Goebel, McChord, Charles Bronston, Fenton Simms, J. C. Gillespie, and W. H. Jones, Colonel "Billy" dogged the progress of the McChord bill in his highly critical comments.<sup>25</sup> In Louisville "Marse" Henry Watterson

<sup>24</sup> Kentucky *Senate Journal*, 1898, p. 215.

<sup>25</sup> Daily editorials appeared in the Lexington *Herald*, January 13-March 2, 1898.



and his powerful *Courier-Journal* completely ignored the bill, except for the perfunctory news reports of the legislative progress.<sup>26</sup>

Breckinridge was accused by the Goebel supporters of being influenced by Milton Smith and August Belmont. In his campaign for governor in 1899, Goebel was direct in his attack upon Breckinridge. At Bowling Green the "people's candidate" declared, "I ask no quarter, and I fear no foe." This declaration of courage prefaced a bitter arraignment of the Lexington *Herald*, W. C. P. Breckinridge, the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, and former Governor Brown.<sup>27</sup> Believing, on February 16, 1898, that the McChord bill would at last become a law, even over Bradley's veto, Colonel Breckinridge reconciled its foes in the manner of one who attempts to comfort a community after a great calamity has befallen it. He believed the bill would not ruin the state, but would only be a nuisance and an obstacle to progress; that the restrictions in Kentucky would cause railroads to seek freight elsewhere at the expense of local shippers; that national competition would enforce regulation of rates; and that the shippers supplied the income to the railroads after all, a fact of which the railroads were thoroughly

<sup>26</sup> The position of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad was made known in the following confidential note from the company's lobbyist, Basil W. Duke, to William Lindsay, October 4, 1898, Huston Collection, University of Kentucky Library, Lexington: "Of course it is interesting to read of Henry's serious exhortations to Bryan and his backers to be good and put away ambition; but I hardly think he expects his advice to be accepted. I take it that this is only a way he has of trying to reach the fellows in the ranks under the pretext of lecturing the officers. The editorials—except that, as you say, any candidate named by Bryan would certainly be as objectionable as Bryan himself—contains a good deal of sense and meat. The trouble is Watterson has written recently so much wild-eyed rot, that no one pays any attention to him now even when he writes rationally. He has forfeited the confidence of all sides. I can't see how it is possible to ever rehabilitate the Democratic Party until the extremists in it have been brought to reason by most positive proof that they can't win on the Chicago platform; and even with that will now be difficult.

"I am convinced that any proper policy in Kentucky is to let the Republican candidates win this year if they can, especially I should like to see Jones beat Hobson after the unnecessarily aggressive position the latter has taken—and beat Goebel for the gubernatorial nomination and commit the party to a repeal of his bill [the election law]. If that be done, we may hope to get a legislature comparatively free from free silver cranks and which may be controlled by conservative Republicans and the small percentage of sound money democracy who may get in!"

<sup>27</sup> Hughes *et al.*, *That Kentucky Campaign*, 75; daily editorials in Lexington *Herald*, June 1-November 4, 1898.

conscious. Breckinridge denounced the McChord bill as a purely political sop which was being given to the public because of its supposed wrought-up state of mind. He reasoned many times that "Kentucky is rich and tough; her people are frugal and industrious. Her resources are scarcely touched, and not even the present legislature can reduce her people to poverty."<sup>28</sup> On February 27 he lashed out at the "people's friends" in the legislature by stating that

pool rooms and corporations that support the saints ought not to be disturbed. The Herald has profound pity for the poor weaklings whose backbone is mush and whose liver is white; who knows what is right, but who are too cowardly to stand up for their convictions and cower behind the hypocritical pretenses of caucus and regularity, poor, poor fellows! They can't help it, they are built that way. The Herald does not blame them—it pities them.

Goebel failed to achieve an important aim, for on February 31, 1898, Governor Bradley vetoed the McChord bill.<sup>29</sup> Again the *Herald* was quick to voice an opinion. Its editorial writer believed that Kentucky was saved from economic ruin for the Governor's action prevented legislation which meant confiscation at the hands of a partisan and ignorant Railroad Commission which would use its power to blackmail the railroads.<sup>30</sup> Linked to the McChord measure were two other bills of major significance on the Goebel agenda. These were the Chinn textbook bill and the Goebel bill "To Further Regulate Elections."<sup>31</sup> The debates on the McChord issue had stirred the general assembly to the boiling point. Bronston, a Democrat of Lexington, had aggravated the "horse starting" Chinn from Mercer County until an open fight appeared imminent. Bronston had substituted a book bill, and in recommending it over that introduced by Chinn, he had called the latter the "Mephistopheles of the legislature." Friends of both parties said Colonel Chinn had gone to Harrodsburg to get his gun—a statement which is utterly impossible to believe for surely Chinn had his gun with him. Breckinridge was quick to step into the dispute as peacemaker. He said, "We cannot believe that Colonel Chinn is angry at this; it is and evidently was meant

<sup>28</sup> See, for example, Lexington *Herald*, February 16, 1898.

<sup>29</sup> Lexington *Leader*, March 1, 1898.

<sup>30</sup> Lexington *Herald*, March 1, 1898.

<sup>31</sup> Kentucky *Acts*, 1898, p. 43.

to be complimentary; it is the only poetical and oratorical way of calling Colonel Chinn 'a hell of a fellow' and what true Kentuckian could fail to appreciate such a pleasantry."<sup>82</sup>

The Chinn book bill was defeated, but the Goebel election law was passed.<sup>83</sup> With the disposal of these three major bills, the legislators of 1898 returned to their respective trades: Colonel Chinn to start horses in the spring race meetings; Judge McChord to practice law; and, according to Colonel Breckinridge, Goebel "to make contingent fees against corporations."<sup>84</sup> Truly Goebel was mending old political fences and building new ones around greener pastures which encompassed more than a seat in the upper house of the general assembly.

The Democratic campaign opened in Kentucky early in the spring of 1899. Goebel, Hardin, and W. J. Stone stumped the state seeking the support of the county conventions. When the famous "Music Hall" convention met on June 21-30, 1899, Goebel was running a poor third in the number of committed delegates, but he was far in the lead of his opponents in ability to use keen strategy. He combined forces with Stone's delegation and organized the convention under Goebel rules.<sup>85</sup> After the election of Judge D. B. Redwine of "bloody" Breathitt as chairman, the business of disqualifying delegates was immediately begun. It has been said that the situation grew so hot in the convention hall that Judge Redwine attempted to leave the stage, but that he was met at the stage door by a fellow-mountaineer who swore he would kill him if he left his post. This much is certain. When an attempt was made to call the roll of the delegates, the melee became so boisterous that "Bob" Franklin, commonwealth's attorney from Franklin County, attempted to restore order by leading in the singing of "Old Hundred," "There'll Be a Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight," "On Jordan's Stormy Banks I Stand," "My Old Kentucky Home," and, as a last resort, "Just Break the News to Mother."<sup>86</sup>

<sup>82</sup> Lexington *Herald*, March 2, 1898.

<sup>83</sup> Kentucky *Senate Journal*, 1898, pp. 1022, 1145.

<sup>84</sup> Lexington *Herald*, March 2, 1898.

<sup>85</sup> Daily news stories and editorials in Louisville *Courier-Journal*, June 21-30, 1899.

<sup>86</sup> Hughes *et al.*, *That Kentucky Campaign*, 34.

Goebel's nomination for governor, which came on the twenty-sixth ballot, split the Democratic party in Kentucky. At Lexington on August 2, former Governor Brown, a staunch standpatter, was selected as the "solid-gold, freedom-loving, honest election" candidate. Brown was burdened with the task of retrieving the Democratic party from the control of "cut-throats and assassins" which had taken possession of it in Louisville in June.<sup>87</sup> Ten days later the Republicans met in convention in Lexington and selected for their candidate a western Kentucky Republican, William Sylvester Taylor, who was then attorney general. The campaign was now under way. Mud slinging took place on every hand. The *Louisville Dispatch*, the *Louisville Times*, and the *Louisville Courier-Journal* carried numerous cartoons illustrative of campaign activities during October and November. The *Times* was diligent in criticizing the Louisville and Nashville Railroad Company and its patron saints, Belmont and Smith. Cartoons pictured Smith as Satan sailing over ragged voters distributing coins from a cornucopia labeled "L. \$ N. Treasury." Another represented a strong hand grasping a shock of hundred-dollar bills with Belmont's picture stamped upon one of them. The forearm was labeled "Anything or Anybody to Beat William Goebel."<sup>88</sup> Perhaps the cartoon that ruffled the "Honest Election" Democrats most was a pen sketch labelled "Trilby and Svengali" which pictured Brown in a striped nightshirt, pigeon-toed house slippers, and a heavily braided military coat, the epaulets of which bore the legend "L. \$ N."; Brown in this cartoon was being hypnotized by Smith.

Goebel opened his campaign on August 12 at Mayfield in western Kentucky. Before he had spoken thirty minutes he fell forward on the table in a dead faint. In a few moments he was revived and entered into a stinging tirade against the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, and wound up by praising the merits of the McChord bill. He declared that the time had come for Kentuckians to decide "whether the L. & N. is

<sup>87</sup> Lexington *Herald*, August 3, 4, 1899.

<sup>88</sup> Duke wrote to Lindsay, October 4, 1898, "beat Goebel for the gubernatorial nomination and commit the party to a repeal of his bill." Huston Collection.

the servant or the master of the people.”<sup>39</sup> At Hartford, a day later, Goebel denounced his opponents and accusers as “liars and scoundrels.” He accused Hardin of having Louisville and Nashville support, for, said Goebel, Hardin’s chief advocate at Louisville in June was James P. Helm, an attorney for the railroad who earlier in his career had received lush fees from Hardin when Helm was attorney general. Goebel arraigned Richard Knott, brother of a vice-president of the railroad company and editor of the *Louisville Post*, and John Whallen, president of the so-called “Honest Election League,” as tools of the Louisville and Nashville.<sup>40</sup> At Bardwell, Goebel said to his audience:

I have no doubt that if in the Louisville convention I had permitted Mr. Milton H. Smith and Mr. August Belmont to run the L. & N. political locomotive engine over me, in their judgment I would be an entirely proper person, not only to be governor of Kentucky, but to hold any other place within the gift of the people. But I did not see fit to do that. It has not been my custom to permit anything to run over me, and you can depend upon it that I shall not permit the L. & N. locomotive engine to run over me on the 7th of next November.<sup>41</sup>

While Goebel was slinging mud, his opponents were attacking him in every part of the state. They brought to light time and again the Sanford affair. Brown declared that Goebel was not an “1896 Chicago platform” Democrat, and Goebel was vehement in his denials. To offset the charges of infidelity to the cause of 1896, Goebel damned Brown for seeking and receiving Louisville and Nashville support.<sup>42</sup> The campaign wound up on November 6 with a hectic flourish; tension was high, and at many polling places disputes raged hot and furious.<sup>43</sup> When the official returns were finally made public it was found that Taylor had

<sup>39</sup> The inscription on the monument at Frankfort contains the word “corporation.” See, also, *Lexington Herald*, March 29, 1898.

<sup>40</sup> *Louisville Courier-Journal*, March 7, 1898. “Marse” Henry was at outs with Louisville’s pet corporation, and one that he had helped to promote. Even as late as 1918 he wrote his bosom friend Arthur Krock, editor of *Louisville Times*, “We owe the L. & N. nothing, not even good will. Especially should the S. o. B. ascertain where he stands.” Watterson to Krock, January 4, 1918, in possession of Arthur Krock, New York City.

<sup>41</sup> Hughes *et al.*, *That Kentucky Campaign*, 90.

<sup>42</sup> The *Lexington Herald* made frequent attacks upon Goebel because of an alleged change of heart. See *ibid.*, October 5, 1899.

<sup>43</sup> The state militia was called upon to patrol the polling places in Louisville. *Louisville Courier-Journal*, November 8, 1900.

received 193,714; Goebel, 191,331; and Brown, 12,140 votes. Republicanism, Smith, and Belmont had won again. Goebel and his wonderful election law were defeated!<sup>44</sup> Even the Goebel-selected election board had to admit defeat.

Taylor was sworn in as governor of Kentucky on December 12. On January 2, 1900, the legislature met in regular session. By the seventh the Democrats had filed charges against Taylor and the whole Republican ticket. Both the Louisville and Nashville Railroad Company and the American Book Company were charged with corrupting legislators and voters.<sup>45</sup> The Democrats demanded that the Louisville returns be voided because the state militia had patrolled the voting places, and claimed that the Louisville and Nashville had intimidated its employees in Jefferson, Warren, Hopkins, Christian, Knox, Whitley, Pulaski, Bell, and other counties. Votes in these counties were of sufficient number to elect Taylor. With these charges of willful corruption came a most peculiar accusation that the mountain counties had used "tissue paper" ballots. The Goebelites claimed these ballot forms were illegal.<sup>46</sup> When it was proposed to invalidate the mountain vote on the flimsy charge of its having been recorded on "tissue paper," mountaineers poured into Frankfort. These mountain guardians of the free right of franchise came armed with standard equipment for a Kentucky gentleman of that time, a "44" Colt revolver, a Winchester rifle, a jug of corn liquor, and a pack of cards. Obviously the Louisville and Nashville Railroad Company had furnished free transportation. A special correspondent for the *Courier-Journal* said that fourteen coach loads of mountaineers were gathered from Bell, Harlan, Knox, Whitley, Laurel, Rockcastle, and Clay counties. This train carried seventy men to a coach, and "every passenger had to have a pistol to get a free pass. It was probably the roughest crowd ever gotten together in the mountains."<sup>47</sup> Another *Cou-*

<sup>44</sup> Goebel personally admitted defeat, and made preparations to visit a brother in Arizona. *Ibid.*, December 13, 1899.

<sup>45</sup> Kentucky *House Journal*, 1900, pp. 46-52.

<sup>46</sup> Daily news stories in *Lexington Leader*, January 2-30, 1900. Specific charges of fraud and irregularity in the election were made before the general assembly in the contest of William Goebel v. William S. Taylor. Kentucky *Senate Journal*, 1900, pp. 60-66.

<sup>47</sup> Louisville *Courier-Journal*, January 26, 1900.

*rier-Journal* correspondent said that Louisville and Nashville passengers bound for Frankfort were armed with moonshine, needleguns, squirrel guns, Winchesters, and "44's." The Middlesboro delegation, which was noted for its special ability to do either plain or fancy shooting on very short notice, was under the command of Congressman D. G. Colson, a descendant of a long line of avenging Appalachian grandsires.<sup>48</sup> On January 31 the Louisville and Nashville again ran a special train of seventeen coaches to Frankfort.<sup>49</sup> These wild drunken mountaineers were carried to the capital on the pretense of protecting their democratic rights to a free franchise; truly they were carried there for the purpose of intimidating a recalcitrant general assembly in its recount of the votes of the November election.<sup>50</sup>

While the outcome of the special electoral committee was still in doubt, the McChord bill was again introduced into the Senate. Since the Goebel faction controlled the assembly, the bill now had a splendid opportunity of being passed, even over an executive veto. After January 30, however, the whole legislative program was thrown into a hopeless state of turmoil; for several days Governor Taylor attempted to call a meeting of the assembly in Louisville, and, later, in London. It was late in February before the united assembly again met in Frankfort. The McChord bill was pushed rapidly toward passage. In the meantime, a new situation had come to exist and a second railroad bill was dumped into the legislative hopper. This one made it a misdemeanor for railroads to transport persons to any place in the commonwealth for the purpose of intimidating officials in the discharge of their duties.<sup>51</sup> On March 10 the McChord bill became a law.<sup>52</sup>

Six weeks before this piece of railroad legislation was enacted, William Goebel, the self-appointed "martyr" of Kentucky's great common people, had been cut down by an assassin's bullet in the midst of his

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, January 27, 1900.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, February 1, 1900.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, January 27, 1900. This issue contains a full page cartoon depicting shaggy mountaineers guarding the statehouse.

<sup>51</sup> *Kentucky Acts*, 1900, pp. 7-9.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 5-7. The original draft of this bill was lost for a time, and its friends suspected duplicity on the part of Taylor Republicans—a fact which created considerable excitement.

struggle against the state's all-devouring corporations. He had been governor of Kentucky for four days, January 31 to February 3. From February 3 to 6 his body lay in state in the Capitol Hotel in Frankfort. Faithful partisans passed his bier to shed tears, to mourn his passing, and to damn the people's enemies. Before Goebel's body could be consigned to the earth of the Frankfort Cemetery, friends insisted that it be taken to his home town of Covington to lie in state. From Frankfort to Covington the most direct route was over the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, but to place Goebel's body in a Louisville and Nashville coach, however, was to commit an unforgivable sacrilege. During his later years the determined and self-willed Goebel was active in opposing this large corporation, and it was a bit of irony that his corpse should make one last and dramatic physical protest. In order to form rail connection with northern Kentucky without going over the Louisville and Nashville line, friends engaged a special train on the rambling little Frankfort and Cincinnati Railroad which connected the two cities of its name. The morning of February 6 dawned dark and gloomy, a fine rain was falling, and it seemed that the whole world was in mourning as grief-stricken and tear-stained idolators placed Goebel's large black coffin aboard the dingy crepe-hung funeral train. At Cincinnati it was necessary to transfer this train to the Chesapeake and Ohio tracks and to dispatch it back across the Ohio River to its destination. Goebel was not buried until March 13, and by that time loyal legislator-friends at the foot of the steep Frankfort hill had completed his battle as a memoriam to his fight in behalf of the downtrodden common people.<sup>53</sup>

From 1900 to 1920 the Kentucky Railroad Commission functioned under the McChord law. Three times the law was brought before the Federal courts for appraisal. The first suit, *Louisville and Nashville v. Charles McChord, Adam T. Siler, and McDougal Ferguson*, individ-

<sup>53</sup> Goebel's burial is a matter of dispute. Was his body placed in the grave at the time of the funeral services or not? Hughes, Shaefer, and Williams say that it was not. The *Lexington Leader*, February 26, 1900, contains the notice that "Mr. Goebel's body is still in the vault [not the grave] at the cemetery. The date of interment has not been fixed." Judge James Benton and former Railroad Commissioner Urey Woodson were pall bearers and they have assured the author that it was buried at the time of the funeral; however, their assurances were made thirty-eight years later.



ually, and as constituting the Railroad Commission of Kentucky, was brought before Judge Andrew McConnell January Cochrane in the Circuit Court of Eastern Kentucky on July 24, 1906.<sup>54</sup> The Railroad Commission had received three complaints from J. Ed Guenther of Owensboro in which he accused the Louisville and Nashville, the Illinois Central, and the Louisville, Henderson, and St. Louis railroad companies of discrimination. His charges were based upon the differential between intrastate and interstate rates between Louisville and Owensboro, and Louisville and Evansville, Indiana. In 1908 the Railroad Commission appealed the case to the Supreme Court, which held the following year that the Commission was without power to make general rates for all goods to all parts of the state, but it did admit that the Commission had power to make specific rates. A second test of the McChord law was made in 1910 when the Louisville and Nashville increased its charges for the carriage of distillers' grains. The Greenbrier Distilling Company *et al.* complained against this increase in rates by the Louisville and Nashville Railroad Company to the Railroad Commission. In its decision the Commission upheld the contentions of the distillers, and the decision was appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. Twice this case was brought before the high court, and in 1913 it upheld the action of the Kentucky Railroad Commission.<sup>55</sup>

Regulating the railroads in Kentucky has been ticklish business. No other state in the Union has confronted the same circumstances which existed in Kentucky at the time the most active efforts were being made to co-ordinate freight rates with agricultural prices. The Louisville and Nashville Railroad was a powerful corporation of local origin, and it was a predominating influence upon state legislation for a long period, but in 1900 it had definitely overplayed its hand.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>54</sup> *Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of the Railroad Commission* (Frankfort, 1906), 137-237.

<sup>55</sup> 231 U. S. 298.

<sup>56</sup> The Railroad Commission was reorganized in 1920. *Carroll's Kentucky Statutes* (Cleveland, 1936), secs. 201-18; *Kentucky Acts*, 1920, pp. 250-70.

# New Viewpoints of Southern Reconstruction

By FRANCIS B. SIMKINS

The issues of most periods of American history have been so satisfactorily settled that they are now significant only as possible explanations of aspects of contemporary events and institutions. This is not true of the main issue of the Reconstruction period: the great American race question. It is almost as timely today as when it arose in 1865; as one of its prominent students says, like Banquo's ghost it will not down. Consequently, interpretations of the ten or twelve years following the Civil War seem destined, for an indefinite period, to have an influence beyond mere explanations of past events. The successful historian of Reconstruction, by revealing early phases of the still burning race question, arouses more attention among the reading public than is usually accorded historical works.

This continued survival of the leading issue of the post-bellum era explains why the interpretations of those years are so varied and numerous. Conservative scholars have described the follies and rascalities of Negro politicians and their Carpetbagger friends so as to make the reader thankful that such knavery cannot be repeated in his time. Less scrupulous writers have so effectively correlated the events of Reconstruction with those of their own times that their books have been best sellers. The outstanding example of this is Claude Bowers' *Tragic Era*, in which an attack upon the Republican enemies of Alfred E. Smith in 1928 is veiled behind attacks upon the Republican leaders of 1868, 1872, and 1876. At least one novelist has so effectively connected certain lurid aspects of Reconstruction with the race prejudices prevailing in the

South in his times that the situations he described have become a part of the Southern folk beliefs. The Ku Klux Klan is used as either a glamorous or sinister symbol for the arousal of issues of race, religion, and patriotism in which all Americans, radicals and reactionaries, Negro lovers and Negro haters, are vitally and perennially concerned. Reconstruction does not escape the attention of contemporary religionists; and even the Marxians, who would settle great social and economic issues, use Reconstruction experiences in their arguments.

A biased interpretation of Reconstruction caused one of the most important political developments in the recent history of the South, the disfranchisement of the blacks. The fraud and violence by which this objective was first obtained was justified on a single ground: the memory of the alleged horrors of Reconstruction. Later, amid a flood of oratory concerned with this memory, the white rulers of the South, in constitutional conventions of the 1890's and 1900's, devised legal means to eliminate the Negro vote. "Reconstruction," asserted the prime justifier of this act, "was this villainy, anarchy, misrule and robbery, and I cannot, in any words that I possess, paint it." These words of Ben Tillman were endorsed by all shades of white opinion from Carter Glass, Henry W. Grady, and Charles B. Aycock to Tom Watson, Hoke Smith, and James K. Vardaman.

Historians, sensing that the discrediting of the period in which the Negro most freely participated in politics justifies his subsequent exclusion from those activities, have condemned the Reconstruction measures as sweepingly as have the Southern politicians. They have called the military rule by which these measures were inaugurated "as brutish a tyranny as ever marked the course of any government whose agents and organs claimed to be civilized"; they have termed the best of the Carpetbaggers "infamous scoundrels"; and they have described the enfranchised freedmen as belonging to a race "incapable of forming any judgment upon the actions of men." The article on South Carolina in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* in all seriousness concludes: "All the misfortunes of war itself are insignificant when compared with the sufferings of the people during Reconstruction."

The masses of white Southerners accept these judgments as axiomatic. White Southerners will argue the issues of the Civil War and even the merits of the Democratic party, but there is scarcely one in a position of authority who will debate Negro suffrage and the related issues of Reconstruction. The wickedness of this regime and the righteousness of the manner in which it was destroyed are fundamentals of his civic code. Such a condemnation or commendation justifies the settlement of questions of the immediate past and are invoked to settle issues of even the remote future.

This extremely partisan judgment of still timely historical events imposes upon the historian of Reconstruction a serious civic duty. He must foster more moderate, saner, perhaps newer views of his period. This the present writer attempts to do in the light of his investigations of the processes of Reconstruction in the state where they were applied most radically.

The capital blunder of the chronicler of Reconstruction is to treat that period like Carlyle's portrayal of the French Revolution, as a melodrama involving wild-eyed conspirators whose acts are best described in red flashes upon a canvas. Such a treatment creates the impression that Southern society was frenzied by misery. This is at best the picturesque pageantry of the artist; at worst, the cheap sensationalism of the journalist or the scenario writer. At all odds it is woefully one-sided and unhistorical. Of course the South during Reconstruction, like France during the Revolution, had its prophets of despair, its fanatical idealists, its unprincipled knaves. Luckily the behavior of these damned souls is not the whole story of Reconstruction, but merely a partial recording of the political aspects of the era. Some of the political acts were as sane and constructive as those of the French Revolution. They were concerned with educational, constitutional, and political reform, and were instrumental in putting the Southern states in line with the progressive spirit of the nineteenth century.

The aberrations of the Reconstruction politicians were not accurate barometers of the actual behavior of the Southern people. The Reconstruction governments were not natural developments from the condi-

tions inherent in Southern life, but were, in a sense, artificial impositions from without. Frenzied politics did not necessarily reflect a frenzied social life. Despite strange doings in statehouses, the Southern people of both races lived as quietly and as normally during Reconstruction as in any politically disturbed period before or after. The defiance of the traditional caste division occasionally expressed in an official reception or in an act of the legislature was not reflected generally in common social relations. No attempt was made to destroy white supremacy in the social or economic sphere or to sanction interracial marriages. The political aggressiveness of the Negroes, characteristic of the period, did not extend to other phases of human relations. A staunch Republican voter was often a good servant in the house of a white Democrat. Negro officeholders who were aggressive politically were known to observe carefully the etiquette of the Southern caste system.

Moreover, in aspects of life not directly political there were achievements during the post-bellum era so quietly constructive that they have escaped the attention of most historians. This is true even of Du Bois, the colored author who ardently and extensively defends the Reconstruction record of his race.

Foremost among these achievements were agricultural reforms. While official agencies through Black Codes and the Freedmen's Bureau were making fragmentary and generally unsuccessful attempts to redefine a shattered rural economy, the freedmen bargained themselves into an agricultural situation unlike that of slavery and from their viewpoint advantageous. They worked beyond official purview. Although they were unable to gain legal title to the lands, they forced white competitors, for their labor in the expanding cotton fields, to establish them on separate farms in houses scattered over the land. This abandonment of the communal character of the Southern plantation bestowed upon the Negroes the American farmer's ideal of independent existence. This was a revolutionary reform more important in the actual life of the freedmen than the sensational but largely unsuccessful political changes attempted at the time. There followed the negotiation of share crop arrangements and other types of labor contracts between the freedmen

and the landlords. These agreements soon became fixed by custom. They proved to be a satisfactory *modus vivendi* and demonstrated the possibility of the two races living together in harmony under a regimen of freedom.

Changes scarcely less significant took place in the religious sphere. Under slavery autonomous Negro churches had not been tolerated and blacks were forced to attend churches directed both administratively and doctrinally by the master race. During Reconstruction the freedmen successfully asserted religious freedom and established independent churches. This secession was accomplished with a minimum of ill feeling and without important doctrinal or ritualistic innovations by the seceding groups. But it was a momentous change in social relations. It has been permanent, having never been challenged by even the most reactionary social forces. Its importance to a people so intensely religious as are Southerners of both races is obvious. The existence of perfectly independent Negro churches has given the black race opportunity for self-expression studiously denied it since Reconstruction in political and other nonreligious fields.

Another radical but constructive change of a nonpolitical character was the development of a new commercial system. The breakup of the plantations into small units created much small trade and a consequent demand for small credit. This was met by the creation of the crossroads stores and the commercial villages and towns with stores and banks. These new institutions were owned by an emergent economic group, the storekeepers, who dominated the Southern community as effectively, if not as glamorously, as the planters had once done. The storekeepers were often also bankers, planters, church deacons, and sometimes state senators. Their power was based on large profits realized from the new system of credit advances on unharvested crops.

The assertion that the abnormalities of post-bellum politics did not adequately reflect the actualities of Southern life leads to the conviction that a balanced understanding of the period cannot be had without descriptions of social life. The social activities of both races remained relatively wholesome and happy; there was little of the misery, hatred,

and repression often sweepingly ascribed to it by writers. There were camp meetings, dances, balls, tournaments, picnics, parades, agricultural fairs, lavish banquets, and indulgence in the vanities of personal adornment. There was, of course, much poverty, the shadow of the Lost Cause, and apprehension concerning possible events in the political world. But there were fresh memories of heroic events, and there were surviving warriors to give glamorous reality to these memories. Gaiety was disciplined by recent tragedy, but it was not dampened by the utilitarianism of a more progressive age.

The claim that the times were completely dominated by stark pessimism is refuted by the fact that during Reconstruction the optimistic concept called the New South was born. It is true that predictions concerning a new civilization springing from the ruins of slavery and the Confederacy were premature. It was ridiculous to call newspapers established amid the ruins of Columbia and the rice plantations *The Phoenix* and *The New South*. But the spirit of progress abroad in the land was not stifled by varied difficulties. It was fostered by some hopeful actualities—a new commercial life, the new banks, the high price of cotton, and the new agriculture made possible by the first extensive use of commercial fertilizer. An optimistic note was reflected in the newspapers. When in the 1880's this hopefulness germinated in the actualities of new industries and a philosophy of progress and reconciliation, it was from the seeds sown in the two previous decades.

In one sense, those who have essayed books on Reconstruction have closed their narratives before the actual reconstruction of the South began. The Northern reformers who arrived in the 1860's and 1870's carrying carpetbags were driven out by Southerners armed with shotguns before these outsiders could make their projects effective. But a later generation of Northern reformers, coming mostly in the twentieth century, have experienced a different reception. Riding in expensive automobiles, emanating an aura of wealth, this later generation have, through lavish expenditures, received the enthusiastic co-operation of Southerners. They have introduced Northern ideals of literature,

architecture, and landscaping, and have instilled into the Southern mind a definite preference for Northern concepts of civilization.

Those of us who are not willing to accept this thesis that the true reconstruction did not come until years after the so-called Reconstruction, should nevertheless feel obligated to watch for evidence during the 1870's of the beginnings of the industrial, cultural, and psychical conquest by the North of the South which has shown itself so clearly in recent decades. Perhaps hidden beneath the seemingly premature and erratic actions of the Carpetbaggers were plans which have been executed by the rich Northerners of the twentieth century.

As has been suggested, one of the most striking features of Southern society is the color line. This division under slavery was not as sharp as it is today. The influences of Reconstruction induced this sharpening. The aggressiveness of the blacks and their allies caused resentment among the whites and consequent estrangement between the races. This alienation in turn caused the blacks, especially in social and economic relations, to grow more independent. If this thesis is true, the careful student of the post-bellum period is obligated to isolate those interests and attitudes which account for the intensification of the caste division of Southern society. In doing this he will perhaps help explain the most important reality of interracial relations.

One of the accepted conventions of Reconstruction scholars is that the Carpetbaggers failed because their measures were excessively radical. We have often been told how the Four Million were suddenly hurled from slavery into freedom; how black barbarians were forced to attempt the roles of New England gentlemen; how seven hundred thousand of these illiterates were given the vote and the privilege of office-holding. But were these measures genuine radicalism, actual uprootings which inevitably led to fundamental changes in Southern society? The answer is that they were scarcely more than artificial or superimposed remedies from the outside which in no real sense struck at the roots of Southern life.

A truly radical program would have called for the confiscation of land for the freedmen. Land was the principal form of Southern wealth,



the only effective weapon with which the ex-slaves could have battled for economic competence and social equality. But the efforts of the Freedmen's Bureau in the direction of land endowments for its wards were fitful and abortive. Conservative constitutional theory opposed any such meaningful enfranchisement. The dominant Radicalism of the day naïvely assumed that a people's salvation could be obtained through the ballot and the spelling book. The freedmen got these but were allowed to continue in physical want, and even lost the industrial skills and disciplines they had inherited from slavery. No wonder they carried bags in which to bear away their suffrage and expected education to place them at the tables of the rich and competent. They were realists and their so-called benefactors were the deluded ones. Wise Tory statesmen like Bismarck, Lord Salisbury, and Alexander II would have put something in their bags and endowed them with tangible social privilege.

In another vital respect the so-called Radicals of the 1860's lost an opportunity to attempt genuine radicalism. They did not try to destroy the greatest obstacle to the Negroes' salvation, the Southern caste system. Contemporary professions of such attempts lack sincerity. Anglo-Saxon race pride, New England standards of civilization, a respect for narrowly Protestant standards of morality were in the way. Attempts at fraternization between the races were stilted official affairs lacking in that unconscious informality on which true sociability must be based. No one was ever allowed to forget that race distinctions existed.

A distinguished Negro lecturer recently stated that the whole truth is not told by those books which assert that the blacks and their coadjutors were the sole aggressors of the Reconstruction period. Revolution was attempted on both sides. The blacks, of course, on their part, were sufficiently aggressive to demand the continuation of freedom and the vote and the liberties implied in these terms. But the whites also showed an aggressiveness which went beyond the maintenance of their traditional position in Southern society. They tightened the bonds of caste; they deprived the subordinate caste of many occupational opportunities enjoyed under slavery; they drove colored farmers from the land; they gradually deprived the blacks of a well-integrated position and imposed

on them a status akin to pariahs whom many wished exiled. The disappearance of aristocratic prejudices against many forms of honest labor created the conviction that it was possible for Southern society to function without the despised African. Certainly an appraisal of the helplessness of the blacks at the close of the Reconstruction era makes one wonder why the whites are not more often adjudged the actual revolutionaries of the times. Victory was in white hands—the actuality as well as the sentiment and the tradition.

Several generations of historians have asserted that the Reconstruction governments were so grievously corrupt and extravagant that they checked all efforts at material rehabilitation. There was, of course, corruption and waste—expensive spittoons, thousand dollar bribes, fraudulent bonds, and so on. But the actual financial burdens of government which tolerated such acts have been exaggerated. Their expenditures seem small when compared with the budgets of twentieth-century states and extravagant only against the parsimony of the governments immediately preceding and following. The extravagant bond issues of the Reconstruction governments were not an immediate burden upon contemporaries and afflicted subsequent generations only to the extent to which they were not repudiated. The Radical governments, like the government of Louis XVI in France, failed not because their expenditures were burdensome but because they did not enjoy enough power and respect to force the taxpayers to yield funds sufficient to discharge the obligations of effective political establishments. There was a taxpayers' strike rather than a tax collectors' orgy. Some Reconstruction governments could not pay their gas bills.

A reinterpretation of the tax policies of the Radical regimes suggests a new explanation of the odious reputations possessed by these governments. Of course, a partial answer is that there was corruption and incompetence. Illiterate freedmen were easily seduced by unscrupulous Carpetbaggers and Scalawags. But were these malpractices the most serious offenses of the Reconstructionists? It seems that the worst crime of which they have been adjudged guilty was the violation of the American caste system. The crime of crimes was to encourage Negroes

in voting, officeholding, and other functions of social equality. This supposedly criminal encouragement of the Negro is execrated ever more savagely as with the passing years race prejudices continue to mount. Mild-mannered historians declare that the assertiveness resulting therefrom was grotesque and abnormal, while the more vehement writers call it the worst of civic scandals. Attempts to make the Reconstruction governments reputable and honest have been treated with scorn, and the efforts of Negroes to approach the white man's standards of civilization are adjudged more reprehensible than the behavior of the more ignorant and corrupt. Social equality and negroism have not a chance to be respectable.

Such views logically grow out of the conviction that the Negro belongs to an innately inferior race and is therefore incapable by his very nature of exercising with sagacity the higher attributes of civilization. James Ford Rhodes gives the viewpoint of moderate historians by declaring the Negro to be "one of the most inferior races of mankind" and by endorsing Brinton's theory of the Negro's arrested development at adolescence. John W. Burgess voices the opinions of the more prejudiced when he says: "The claim that there is nothing in the color of the skin is a great sophism. A black skin means membership in a race of men which has never succeeded in subjecting passion to reason." Less critical writers take such statements as so obviously true that they need no specific affirmation.

The impartial historian, however, cannot so readily endorse this finding. His knowledge of the conclusions of modern anthropology casts grave doubts on the innate inferiority of the blacks. This knowledge, indeed, creates the necessity of explaining the conduct of the Negroes, during Reconstruction as well as during other times, on other than racial grounds. It also leads to the rejection of the gloomy generalization that the race, because of its inherent nature, is destined to play forever its present inferior role.

Loose assertions concerning Reconstruction as an attempt to return to the ideals of the jungle, as an effort to rebarbarize the Negro and to make South Carolina and Mississippi into African provinces, seem to

have no basis in truth. Indeed, the exact opposite seems nearer the truth. Reconstruction can be interpreted as a definite step forward in the Anglicization or the Americanization of the blacks, certainly not their Africanization. The sagacious William A. Dunning tells the truth when he asserts that the newly-liberated freedmen were "fascinated with the pursuit of the white man's culture." This passion did not abate during the later years of Reconstruction; it is still a dominant feature of Negro life. The zeal with which the ex-slaves sought the benefits of literary education is unparalleled in history; this was the most obvious means of assimilating the white man's culture. Although Negro society during the first years of freedom tended to grow independent of white society, it continued to imitate the culture of the superior caste. Among the more cultivated Negroes, the more independent their society is of the whites', the stronger the resemblance. The radical changes in Negro religion which grew out of freedom were not in the direction of Africa, but rather in the direction of frontier or backwoods America, with some imitations of Fifth Avenue standards of clerical correctness. The misbehavior of Negro politicians had no African coloring. Their bad manners were those of American rustics and their vices were not unlike those of contemporary Tammany politicians. It is true that variations in the dialect of the Southern Negroes were most pronounced in the years after the war, or at least they were then best recognized; but even in the Gullah speech of the Sea Islands, African words did not predominate.

The efforts of certain Negroes of the post-bellum period to establish African connections were abortive. When cultured Negroes of the type of Martin R. Delany tried to discover their African ancestors, they were guilty of a fatuous Americanism, different only in one respect from that of those Americans who trace their ancestors in England: the African quest could not be successful. The influences of slavery had resulted in such a thorough Americanization of the blacks that little African was left in their culture. This was the main reason why the efforts during Reconstruction to promote emigration to Liberia were a dismal failure. There was no more cultural affinity between the Southern Ne-

gro and his African blood kin than between the American Negro and the Chinese.

The aspersions on the freedmen for emulating the white man's culture have been as unfair as the criticisms of them for the alleged attempt to Africanize the South. Numerous writers have ridiculed sooty women for wearing veils and gloves, for carrying umbrellas, for calling themselves "Mrs." and "Miss," and for retiring from the fields to establish firesides and homes. Likewise, the spectacle of Negro politicians trying to talk like Daniel Webster or Charles Sumner has caused jest, and undue emphasis has been placed upon the impracticability of the attempt to load the curricula of Negro schools with items of classical culture adapted from New England. But are these criticisms just? It is granted that such aspirations after the white man's culture were often the result of uncritical enthusiasms and were beyond the immediate reach of an inexperienced people turned loose naked in the world. But measured according to the unescapable standards of American civilization, were these aspirations in the wrong direction? Were they not in the direction all Americans, including even those relegated to the lowest caste, seek to travel? The major problem of the American Negro is to attain the standards of American civilization. This is a decree of circumstances which the American Negro has accepted without reluctance. Therefore, the Reconstructionists who held Boston and Massachusetts up as ideals for the blacks were not giving the wrong advice. The fact that this advice moved the Negroes profoundly, if not always sagaciously, is a tribute to the sound instincts of these blacks and of their Reconstruction mentors.

Historians of the South should adopt a more critical, creative, and tolerant attitude toward so important a period in the annals of their section as Reconstruction. This will promote truth and scholarship in the austere sense of those terms. It will do more. It will banish that provincialism which is based on priggishness and ignorance of comparisons; it will fortify the sound provincialism born of better understanding of one's own province; and it will enrich those measured evalua-

tions which are possible only after contact with other people's provinces. A better comprehension of the Reconstruction past will aid in the solution of the South's great race problem. Bias and passion should be explained in rational terms in order that contemporaries may better understand the forces motivating them. In this modest way the great civic obligation of the historian can be discharged.

# The Fourth Annual Meeting of the Southern Historical Association

*By* PHILIP DAVIDSON

From an idea in the fall of 1934 to an organization of eight hundred members, from a meeting of a score of historians in an Atlanta hotel room to a three-day session with thirty papers—this is the phenomenal four-year record of the Southern Historical Association. The Association grew out of the increasing interest in Southern history and has itself contributed vitally to the promotion of historical scholarship. This was evident at the fourth annual meeting, held in New Orleans, November 3-5. The stimulus of the Association is clearly seen in the number of new people on the program, the number of new research projects discussed at every turn, and the intellectual vigor that was felt at every meeting.

The Program Committee arranged a much larger program than had been attempted before. Beginning Thursday morning, the meeting lasted until Saturday afternoon; in that interval, fifteen separate sessions were held. Southern history of the ante-bellum period and the problems of locating and preserving the sources for Southern history were the matters of principal concern in the program as arranged. The increasing importance of the work of the Federal government is seen in the number of government men on the program and in the fact that two meetings were devoted entirely to certain government projects. All of the sessions were well attended, and a great deal of interest was displayed in the exhibit of books, pictures, maps, and documents provided by the American Buildings Survey, the Federal Archives Survey, the

Federal Writers project, the Cabildo project, and the New Orleans City Hall project.

The two sessions which began the meeting of the Association on Thursday morning were both held in the St. Charles Hotel. Charles W. Ramsdell presided over the meeting which discussed the Southern plantation. The general subject, "Plantation Management," was specifically treated in three papers. Edward E. Everett of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture, read the first paper, "The Southern Plantation: A Consideration of Its Nature and Persistence as an Agriculture Unit." Mr. Edwards traced the history of the plantation as a unit of agricultural production and of rural life through its many vicissitudes. Its principal characteristics were discussed in terms of the three major chronological periods—the Colonial, the ante-bellum, and the post-bellum—and of the major commodities produced—tobacco, rice, cotton, and sugar cane. The plantation in each of the periods was discussed as an efficient unit for the production of staples, and at the close of his paper Mr. Edwards raised the question as to whether the plantation has not served its function and deserves to be replaced by some other unit.

Marjorie Mendenhall's paper, which was read by C. Vann Woodward, dealt with the plantation in terms of an individual planter, James Henry Hammond. Hammond wanted to be a statesman, but a personal indiscretion and Southern moralists determined that he would be a planter instead of a senator. Hammond determined to duplicate on the depleted soils of South Carolina the great cotton yields of rich Southwestern lands. He first tried Edmund Ruffin's idea of using marl on old land, but had to abandon the project. He then tried the mixed system of grain growing, cattle raising, and cotton culture advocated by N. B. Cloud of Alabama. He finally achieved financial success by reverting to the old Southern custom of exploiting new land, land he obtained by draining swamps. Later he advocated a balanced economy and himself became interested in cotton manufacturing.

Walter Prichard of Louisiana State University read the final paper, "The Effects of the Civil War on the Louisiana Sugar Industry." The



war, Mr. Prichard showed, almost annihilated the industry. From an annual production of four hundred and sixty thousand hogsheads, the output fell to a mere ten thousand. Cotton came back in quantity at least by 1880, but it was not until 1893 that the sugar industry was back to the prewar level. Scarcity of capital and labor militated against it during and after Reconstruction, he said, and it was not until many small mills had been eliminated and laborsaving machinery introduced that advances could be made.

Concurrently with this meeting, another was being held to discuss the activities of the National Park Service. William R. Hogan, assistant archivist at Louisiana State University, presided, and Ronald F. Lee, supervisor of historic sites, the National Park Service, read the first paper. Under the subject, "Objectives and Policies in the Conservation of Historic Sites," Mr. Lee discussed the work in the South of the National Park Service. The Federal government grouped all the national historic areas under the department of the interior in 1933, and in 1935 the Historic Sites Act gave to the Secretary extensive powers for the survey of historic and archeological sites, and for the development in co-operation with state and local governments of a national program for their conservation. The objectives of the newer Federal policies include the desire to integrate the activities of many hitherto separate agencies, to encourage state legislation, and to bring the scientific approach to the problem of locating and preserving historic sites.

Malcolm E. Gardner, acting superintendent of the Natchez Trace Parkway project, gave a full discussion of the problems involved in tracing and developing a specific historic site. In "The Natchez Trace as an Historic Site Problem," Mr. Gardner reviewed briefly the history of the Trace from its beginnings as a series of Indian trails to a national road—the first one established—connecting Nashville and Natchez, outposts in 1800 of American and Spanish influence in the Southwest. Mr. Gardner described the project of the Trace as a research problem, involving interpretation of documentary material, careful location work on the ground, the identification of map and documentary material with

original sites, and the use of engineering, architectural, and archeological methods.

Roy E. Appleman, acting regional historian, the National Park Service, concluded the session with a discussion of some plans of the Park Service. In his paper, "The Survey of Historic Sites in the South," he listed the more important sites being considered for Federal ownership; among them are Cumberland Gap, Boonesborough, Fort Raleigh, Fort Fredericka, and Chalmette battlefield. He also discussed the possibilities of co-operative effort in the conservation of St. Augustine and of the Vieux Carré in New Orleans, but pointed out the difficulties of working within cities, where more private enterprise and property are affected than in rural areas.

At the conclusion of these two sessions, the members of the Association met at La Louisiane Restaurant for a luncheon conference on the applicability of Frederick Jackson Turner's theories to the South. Avery Craven of the University of Chicago discussed the question, "To What Extent Do the Theories and Studies of Frederick Jackson Turner Constitute a True Interpretation of the Development of the South?" He first outlined briefly what he called the Turner approach to American history—that throughout the formative period the ever succeeding Wests were the most typical and influential portions of the nation, and that these Wests each in turn became an East, "leaving the future to sectional and class conflicts." Mr. Craven then showed that Turner himself undoubtedly believed that his approach fitted the facts of Southern history, but that he would have considered his theory in itself a true interpretation of the South or of any other section was most unlikely. No one doubts, asserted Mr. Craven, that the Turner approach fits perfectly the history of the coastal and piedmont South; the real problem concerns the application of the thesis to the Southwest. Here conditions were so complex that Turner himself was uncertain, and many have since frankly denied that the Western process was continued in the South, viewing the entire South as a unique entity in the national pattern. Some have seen the class struggle as the dominant note, others the race problem, and yet, said Mr. Craven, the vigorous advance into the

Southwest had all the characteristics usually ascribed to the Western movement. There were the usual stages of development—trapping, cattle driving, mining, small farming, and planting. There were the flavor and practices of the frontier. There were the same crudeness, the same lack of inhibitions, the same stirrings of democracy and nationalism that characterized every other "West." Of the Southwest he therefore concluded, "It was Southern; yet it was thoroughly Western." Benjamin B. Kendrick of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina led the discussion which followed. He accepted, he said, the Turner thesis as *a* true interpretation, but in the light of present interests (Turner himself once said, "Each age tries to form its own conception of the past") a better key to the interpretation of Southern history would be found in the fact that the South has always been a debtor section. The Southwest, however, was not debtor to its parent area and could thus unite with it better than could the Northwest with the Northeast, to which it was debtor. There was less social difference between the South and the Southwest than between the North and the Northwest. These facts, he argued, do not vitiate the Turner thesis, but they tend to make it less applicable to the South than to other sections.

Two sessions were held Thursday afternoon, one on "Aids to Historical Research," presided over by James A. McMillen of Louisiana State University, the other on the subject, "The North and the South," in charge of Culver H. Smith of the University of Chattanooga. In the first session, Barnes F. Lathrop of the University of Texas described a project of the University of Texas for microfilming materials for Southern history. The material so far filmed falls within the period from 1820 to 1880, and was taken from depositories from Massachusetts to Louisiana; it includes manuscripts, broadsides, newspapers, pamphlets, and books. Twenty-one thousand feet of film, covering nearly a quarter of a million pages, have already been taken, and the project is to be continued another year. A body of extremely valuable material for Southern students is thus rapidly being accumulated.

John C. L. Andreassen, of the Historical Records Survey, reported in his paper, "Inventory of Manuscript Collections in the South," that the

survey will result in published products of three types: (1) a general guide to all depositories of manuscript collections in the South, (2) state guides to manuscript collections, and (3) calendars and inventories of specific collections. Many states and localities, said Mr. Andreassen, have already begun publication of guides and calendars.

In the session on the North and the South, V. Alton Moody of Iowa State College read the first paper, "Northern Trade with the South in the Ante-Bellum Period." The South, said Mr. Moody, in spite of efforts to make it self-sufficing, has produced staples and bought supplies. When the direct trade of the South with Europe was cut off, the North took over the Southern trade and soon came to look on the region as an indestructible market for its goods. The effects of this trade on the two regions differed widely. In the North, it resulted, for example, in commercial farming. In the South, its effects were harmful. It led to the neglect of stock and grain raising, raised the price of land, helped fasten the factorage system on the South, and controlled the destinies of whole towns and communities.

B. I. Wiley of the University of Mississippi described the effects of another type of Northern invasion. In "The Impact of Federal Invasion on the Institution of Slavery," Mr. Wiley found that the faithful slave of postwar panegyrics was almost wholly fictional. He showed that one of the immediate consequences of the arrival of Federal troops was the flight of many slaves to the Union lines. The slaves also became more insolent and insubordinate. That they did not resort to a general insurrection is attributable, concluded Mr. Wiley, not so much to the slaves' affection for their masters as to their inability to organize and to their fear of summary punishment.

The final paper in this session, "The South and Northern Democratic Congressional Leaders during Reconstruction and After," was delivered by Albert V. House, Jr., of Wilson Teachers College. It has been assumed, asserted Mr. House, that the Democratic leaders in Congress during Reconstruction battled valiantly but vainly for the South against the plans of the Radical Republican leaders. A study of the documents, however, shows that though these Democratic leaders fought to protect

the South from the political and social ravages of the Radicals, they joined with them in the economic exploitation of the region. Talk and negative action were the contribution of most of the Democratic leaders to the solution of Reconstruction problems, charged Mr. House, but at least two men, Senator Allen G. Thurman and Speaker Samuel J. Randall, deserve study as constructive leaders.

On Thursday night there was held a joint dinner of the Southern Historical Association and the Louisiana Historical Society. Edward Alexander Parsons of the Louisiana Historical Society and Wendell H. Stephenson of the Southern Historical Association presided over the occasion. Mr. Parsons spoke on the subject, "A Pirate's Tale," retelling with charm the story of Jean Lafitte. He exhibited documents relating to Lafitte and the battle of New Orleans now in possession of the Historical Society. E. Merton Coulter read a paper called "How the Other Half of New Orleans Lived." By 1840 the fame of New Orleans had attracted an adventuresome lot from all over the country, and when these outsiders were joined with the irresponsible elements produced by the city itself, a sizeable police problem was created. Mr. Craven had said in his paper that in one period of twenty-three months forty-seven thousand minor crimes were committed in New Orleans, and it was with such crimes and the reporting of them that Mr. Coulter was concerned. The court reporter for the New Orleans *Picayune* was on hand every morning at the Recorder's Court and described the hearings with much humor and a profound knowledge of human nature. With equal humor Mr. Coulter passed on the reporter's descriptions to the dinner guests.

Two sessions Friday morning, one at the St. Charles Hotel, the other on the Tulane University campus, concerned the past and future of the South. At the St. Charles Hotel three capable papers were grouped around the general theme, "Suggested Points of View for the Future Historian of the South." Mr. Kendrick presided and presented first Miss Kathryn T. Abbey of Florida State College for Women, who read for Richard Shryock, University of Pennsylvania, a paper, "Culture Patterns in the South." Interpretation of general history, wrote Mr. Shryock, unless we are to abandon the whole concept of causation, must proceed in

terms of the three major factors which influence the lives of people—their biological nature, the particular culture they possess, and their environment. The complexities created by these variables have made a definite account of any period or people almost impossible, and historians have therefore emphasized one or the other of these three. Early Southern writers, for example, so emphasized the cultural inheritance of the settlers that by 1860 the cavalier tradition dominated much of the thought and writing of the section. At the same time, and bolstering up the tradition, biological interpretations of Negro inferiority and white superiority became strongly entrenched in the Southern mind. Lasting for many years even after the Civil War, these ideas were finally attacked by those who stressed geographic factors. The geographic determinists themselves are now being undermined by those who have reverted to the older ideas of cultural influences. This pendulum-like swing is indicative, thought Mr. Shryock, of a low level of scientific methodology. To remedy the condition, he proposed briefly that scientific studies be made of instances in which one factor was constant and the others were variable, as in the case of English and German settlers in the same general environment.

The second paper, "Population Structure of the Late Ante-Bellum South," by Frank L. Owsley of Vanderbilt University, was a preliminary report upon an intensive study of unpublished county records and Federal census reports. An examination of these records makes a revision of the stereotyped view of Southern society imperative. Instead of three classes, there were many shadings between the two extremes of great slaveholders and poor whites. There were moderately wealthy planters, small planters, and the slaveholding farmers. Farther down the scale were the nonslaveholding farmers who owned their own land and made up the bulk of the nonslaveholders, the renters, and the squatters on government land. By 1860 the landless renters and squatters had largely been absorbed into the landowning class.

The final paper in this session was read by Harry E. Moore of the University of Texas. In his paper, "Future Regions of the United States," Mr. Moore discussed the meaning and significance of the term regional-

ism. It varies from geographic determinism, said Mr. Moore, in that geographic factors influence but do not control. Communication and transportation are the chief factors in setting the pattern of relationships which characterize the region. The region is distinguished from the section in that the latter seeks autonomy, whereas the former sees itself as an integral portion of the whole. The growing popularity of the regional approach through synthesis rather than analysis, and the growth of regional organizations in political, social, and commercial fields, led Mr. Moore to the conclusion that the future historian will find the regional approach of great value and significance.

While the session on the South and the future historian was under way, Gerald M. Capers, Jr., was presiding over a discussion of the development of science in the South. George Adams of Lake Forest College read an interesting paper on "Medical Theory and Practice in the Confederacy." The Civil War was unfortunately fought at the very end of the medical middle ages, but it did give Southern physicians great opportunities for clinical and surgical practice. Pioneer work was done in the prophylactic use of quinine to ward off malaria, for example, and the practice of bleeding and of treatment in tightly closed rooms were abandoned. The accidental discovery that maggots could clean out a badly infected wound, bringing at times almost miraculous recoveries, anticipated by sixty years the larval therapy worked out in the 1920's. On the other hand, careless vaccination spread syphilis and other serious infections, and the complete failure of the troops to observe ordinary sanitary regulations killed more troops than did Yankee Minié balls. Poor as was the theory and practice of medicine, concluded Mr. Adams, they were good enough to have saved half the hundred and fifty thousand men who died of disease had the government been able to provide the necessary supplies to the soldiers, and had the rank and file of the troops known enough to observe sanitary regulations.

Charles Sydnor of Duke University read the second paper. Under the title, "The Theory and Practice of Geology in the South," the paper showed that the interest in geology manifested itself largely in geological surveys, authorized at public expense in every Southern state except

Florida and Louisiana. These surveys, many of them carried on under the auspices of state universities, resulted in the publication of some fifty books and pamphlets. These reports contain a great deal of material of interest to others than geologists; planters, for instance, insisted that the reports include information of value to farmers. There is so much variety in fact, that modern historians can use the reports with profit.

The final paper in the session on the development of science was read by Arthur R. Hall, Soil Conservation Service, United States Department of Agriculture. Mr. Hall discussed the soil conservation techniques employed by farmers in the South Carolina piedmont prior to 1860. The serious soil depletion and the extensive erosion in this area necessitated better farming practices, and five conservation techniques were developed: (1) deep and horizontal plowing, (2) hillside ditching, (3) development of grass crops, (4) manuring and rotation of crops, and (5) timber conservation. Because clean tilled crops—cotton and corn—continued to dominate the agriculture of the region, the mechanical techniques, such as horizontal plowing and ditching, were most commonly and most successfully used.

The members of the Association assembled at Kolb's Restaurant at twelve-thirty for a luncheon conference on printed source materials. John R. Pomfret of Vanderbilt University presided, and the only scheduled address was made by Douglas C. McMurtrie, American Imprints Inventory, the Historical Records Survey. Mr. McMurtrie's discussion was a description of the invaluable work of the American Imprints Inventory, which is making a national survey of printed source material. Plans were laid for the inventory at the Nashville meeting of the Southern Historical Association. By now twelve hundred workers are engaged in recording, in libraries all over the country, books, pamphlets, broadsides, and other items printed in the United States prior to 1877. The titles are sent to a clearing house in Chicago, where they are filed by place of printing and date. From these files regional lists of early imprints are compiled, edited, and issued in mimeographed form. The work of the Imprints Inventory is indispensable to those working in any local field.



A paper by A. F. Kuhlman, director of the Joint University Libraries, Vanderbilt University, scheduled for the session on "Aids to Historical Research," was read by Robert J. Usher of the Howard Memorial Library, New Orleans. Mr. Kuhlman issued a note of warning under the title, "The Next Steps in the Collection, Organization, and Preservation of Historical Source Materials in the South." Too much rugged individualism and outright competition have resulted in wasteful duplication and missed opportunities for co-operation on large scale projects. The suggested lines of development for Southern research libraries are the filming of printed sources, careful surveys of existing research material and the preparation of guides to it, and the development of regional rather than local research libraries. In these activities the co-operative method must be completely substituted for the older and more wasteful competitive method.

No papers were scheduled for Friday afternoon, the members of the Association being invited to a tea given by Tulane University. An opportunity was thus given the members to examine the Tulane collection of Middle American artifacts and documents.

The annual dinner of the Association, presided over by Rufus C. Harris, president of Tulane University, was held at Antoine's Restaurant. Philip M. Hamer, president of the Association, delivered his presidential address, a discussion of the problems involved in the preservation of documents for Southern history. In the past, he said, documents have been used to kindle fires, to light pipes, and to make beds, and have been left in every conceivable place from moldy basements to penitentiaries. Mr. Hamer then emphasized the need for care in the preservation of those documents that have escaped the carelessness of the past, and the necessity of making provision for handling the documents of the future. After the dinner and address, the members of the Association were delightfully guided through the Cabildo museums by James J. A. Fortier.

In that same building was held the conference of historical agencies, scheduled for Saturday morning. C. C. Crittenden of the North Carolina Historical Commission presided over the discussion. Reports were made

on three states, and in all three there were encouraging evidences that antiquarianism and undue emphasis on genealogy were giving way before modern historical scholarship. In his report on the historical agencies of Virginia, Lester J. Cappon of the University of Virginia showed that the lethargy which had marked the earlier historical agencies and activities was dispelled in the 1920's. The Virginia State Library, the University of Virginia, the College of William and Mary, the Virginia Historical Society, and two religious establishments, the Episcopal Diocese of Virginia and the Baptist Historical Society, have made great advances in collecting and making accessible manuscript and printed materials. In South Carolina, reported Anne King Gregorie of the Historical Records Survey, there are nine existing historical agencies. Four of these are county historical societies, one is a city commission of Charleston, and the remaining four are state-wide agencies—the South Carolina Historical Society, the Historical Commission of the state, the South Carolina Historical Association, established in 1930, and the University of South Caroliniana Society, established in 1936 for the purpose of building up the South Carolina collection of the state university. E. W. Winkler of the University of Texas described the growth of interest in historical agencies since 1850. By 1900 three important agencies had been established, the State Library, the Department of History of the University of Texas, and the Texas State Historical Association. All three have done fine work in collecting, preserving, and making accessible historical documents. Since 1920 four regional associations have been established. Their work is based on sound principles and is carried on by trained men. In the discussion that followed these reports it became apparent that the same encouraging developments are found in other states as well.

At another meeting Saturday morning the contributions of some Southern historians and economists were discussed. J. G. de Rouilhac Hamilton of the University of North Carolina presided over this session. O. C. Skipper of The Citadel read a paper, "J. D. B. De Bow and the Seventh Census." Mr. Skipper attempted on the basis of available evidence to determine De Bow's part in the final form of the census. He is entitled

to a large share of the credit for the ideas embraced in the schedules adopted for the collection of data, although it cannot be said with certainty that others of the Census Board may not have had somewhat the same ideas. A good deal of the actual compilation had already been done before De Bow took office, but he did make some improvements in the arrangement of the tables, and himself prepared an adequate introduction, suggestive notes, and a useful appendix. He introduced the work of specialists and prepared the *Folio* for publication. The *Compendium* is superior to the *Folio*, but the third volume, the first mortality report attempted, is the least satisfactory of the three. For its weaknesses, however, De Bow is not responsible. On the whole, concluded Mr. Skipper, De Bow is entitled to a great deal of the credit for making the Seventh Census the first modern census.

William C. Binkley read an analysis of the contribution to Southern historical scholarship made by Walter Lynwood Fleming. As a writer, Fleming in his studies of the Civil War and Reconstruction set an example of careful scholarship, objectivity of treatment, and able synthesis. As a teacher, he chose to remain in the South, where he inspired many students to begin and continue research. As an administrator, he was especially active in the movement to develop centers of graduate study in the South. In these three fields Fleming strongly influenced Southern scholarship.

Fred C. Cole of Louisiana State University read for Fred Landon of the University of Western Ontario his paper on Ulrich Bonnell Phillips. The paper dealt particularly with the man himself as he was known to his friends and students. His human qualities materially affected his attitudes toward history; in the familiar correspondence of obscure persons he often found much more that he considered trustworthy than in the public statements of important figures. The paper gave interesting glimpses of the personal side of a man who received the deep affection of many who knew him.

The final session of the Association was held at the St. Charles Hotel at twelve-thirty. After luncheon the closing business meeting was called to order by President Hamer. Reports from officers were read, an

amendment to the constitution of the Association was adopted, and officers for 1939 were elected.

The meeting was officially adjourned, but two events held many of the members in New Orleans until late afternoon. Mr. Parsons received many of the members at his home, where he exhibited his collection of Louisiana material, and others accepted Mack Swearingen's invitation to visit a sugar mill and some of the sugar plantations along the river.

# Annual Report of the Secretary-Treasurer

By FLETCHER M. GREEN

During the year just passed<sup>1</sup> the ordinary activities of the Association have proceeded in a happy and agreeable manner. The officials and committees have performed their duties most satisfactorily, some of them under most trying circumstances. I wish to express my thanks in particular to Herbert A. Kellar and Mack Swearingen and their committees: to Mr. Kellar for his untiring courtesy and assistance in getting the materials for the printed program in shape; and to Professor Swearingen for making the local arrangements, in the midst of his removal from New Orleans to Milledgeville, Georgia, for one of the most pleasant annual meetings yet held. Stanley C. Arthur and Edwin A. Leland, Jr., ably completed the work begun by Professor Swearingen. Without the many courtesies and cordial co-operation of all these gentlemen the Secretary could not possibly have printed the program in time to get it in the hands of the members of the Association.

The Association owes much to Wendell H. Stephenson, who so ably edits the *Journal of Southern History*. The *Journal* alone keeps the Association going and it has annually increased in prestige and value to the historical profession. More and more the university libraries are recognizing it as one of the journals which must be found on their shelves. Professor Stephenson is largely responsible for the merit of the *Journal*.

The executive council, at its meeting held in Durham, North Carolina, on November 20, 1937, considered the matter of having one session of the annual program devoted to some phase of European history so as to appeal to the historian whose primary interest is not in Southern

<sup>1</sup> The fiscal year ended December 31, 1938.

history. The Secretary was instructed to inform the chairman of the committee on program that the council thought this a wise plan. He did so, and Mr. Kellar asked Wallace E. Caldwell of the University of North Carolina to arrange such a session. Professor Caldwell reported back to Mr. Kellar that, after wide correspondence with men in the European history field, he did not think it feasible for the 1938 meeting but did believe many would be interested for 1939 if notice of such plan were given in the February, 1939, issue of the *Journal of Southern History*.

The Association was again invited to hold a joint session with the American Historical Association at its annual meeting held in December, 1938, at Chicago. Alfred J. Hanna, Dallas Irvine, and Robert D. Meade represented the Association and read papers devoted to the Confederacy period. The Association has also accepted the invitation of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association to hold a joint session with that body at its annual meeting to be held at Memphis, Tennessee, in April, 1939.

The executive council at its meeting held on November 4, 1938, recommended that hereafter the business session be held on Friday of the annual meeting rather than on Saturday as heretofore. It is believed that such a change will secure a larger attendance at the business meeting and thus strengthen the Association by awakening a deeper interest in its activities on the part of the membership. The council elected W. Neil Franklin of The National Archives and Walter B. Posey of Birmingham-Southern College to the board of editors of the *Journal of Southern History*. The council also accepted the joint invitation of the University of Kentucky and Transylvania College to hold the 1939 annual meeting in Lexington, Kentucky.

After the Secretary had filed reports of the purposes and financial condition of the Association with the treasury department of the United States, John R. Kirk, deputy commissioner of internal revenue, ruled that the Association was exempt from taxation under the Federal revenue acts as they now stand (letter of July 27, 1938). This ruling permits

members of the Association to deduct annual dues from their Federal income tax returns.

The Secretary has been able to aid the presses of Duke University, the University of North Carolina, the University of Virginia, and the University of Texas during 1938 by furnishing lists of members of the Association to be used in announcing the publication of new books. In accordance with the instructions of the Association, the Secretary transmitted to the Honorable Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, the resolutions introduced by Howard K. Beale and adopted by the Association on November 20, 1937, at Durham, North Carolina. The Secretary of State replied that he would attempt in every way possible the early publication of *Foreign Relations of the United States* (letter of January 10, 1938).

The annual business meeting held at the St. Charles Hotel on November 5, 1938, considered two proposed amendments to the constitution concerning the election of president and vice-president. After considerable debate it was voted to substitute the following for the present Article V: "The officers shall be a president, a vice-president, and a secretary-treasurer. The vice-president shall succeed to the presidency. Other officers shall be elected at each annual meeting as prescribed in the by-laws, and shall hold office for one year or until their successors are qualified." The business meeting elected the following officers for 1939: president, Charles S. Sydnor; vice-president, Frank L. Owsley; secretary-treasurer, Fletcher M. Green; executive council, Kathryn T. Abbey and Avery O. Craven.

The Association has had a fairly satisfactory growth in membership during the year. Full credit should be given to Professor Posey and his committee, one of whom sent in members from five states besides his own. There have been added 144 new members since January 1, 1938. The Association has lost 7 members by death. These were: William K. Boyd of Duke University, George B. Winton of Vanderbilt University, Colonel Henry H. Glassie, U. S. A., of Chevy Chase, Maryland, Captain Samuel A. Ashe, C. S. A., of Raleigh, North Carolina, David C. Bram-

lette of Woodville, Mississippi, Hunter McDonald of Nashville, Tennessee, and Mrs. Wood Spiller of Hammond, Louisiana. Twenty-three members were dropped from the mailing list for nonpayment of dues, but 2 were later restored; and 23 members have resigned. One active member was transferred to the exchange list. The loss, therefore, has been 52 as against 144 new members. This gives a net gain of 92, and a total active membership of 740 including 4 life members. Of the 740 members, 29 are in arrears for 1938 dues. There are 64 exchange members. This gives a grand total of 804 members. The number one year ago was 710.

The Association has members in 46 states, the District of Columbia, the Territory of Hawaii, Argentina, Canada, England, and France. Twenty-three states have 10 or more members. In order of numbers they are: North Carolina 71, Louisiana 69, Virginia 57, Georgia 50, Alabama 45, Mississippi 44, Florida 43, Tennessee 43, Texas 40, District of Columbia 36, Kentucky 33, South Carolina 32, New York 27, Illinois 17, Pennsylvania 16, Indiana 15, Arkansas 14, Maryland 13, Massachusetts 13, Oklahoma 12, West Virginia 12, Ohio 11, and California 10.

#### FINANCIAL STATEMENT AS OF DECEMBER 31, 1938

##### RECEIPTS: January 1 to December 31, 1938

Cash balance, January 1, 1938.....	\$3,942.87	
Profits of New Orleans meeting.....	10.88	
Interest on savings deposit.....	72.80	
Advertising in <i>Journal</i> .....	40.00	
Payment of dues.....	2,269.17	
Total.....		\$6,335.72

##### DISBURSEMENTS: January 1 to December 31, 1938

Printing the February and May issues of the <i>Journal of Southern History</i> .....	1,110.00
Printing programs, membership blanks, receipts, statements for dues, folders for membership committee, and stationery for president and secretary.....	98.80
Expenses of membership committee.....	27.41
Typing.....	6.80
Mimeographing membership list.....	13.75



Telegrams . . . . .	3.75	
Mailing programs . . . . .	12.00	
Express (literature to membership committee) . . .	2.36	
Supplies (filing case, cash books, etc.) . . . . .	4.15	
Notary public fees . . . . .	3.75	
Bad checks returned . . . . .	6.00	
Refund on overpaid account . . . . .	2.70	
Postage . . . . .	44.68	
	<hr/>	
Total . . . . .		\$1,336.15
Balance as of December 31, 1938 . . . . .		\$4,999.57
BALANCE DISTRIBUTED AS FOLLOWS:		
Checking account, Bank of Chapel Hill . . . . .	\$2,033.07	
Savings account, Bank of Chapel Hill . . . . .	2,966.50	
	<hr/>	
Total . . . . .		\$4,999.57

Respectfully submitted,

FLETCHER M. GREEN, *Secretary-Treasurer*

# Constitution and By-Laws of the Southern Historical Association

## CONSTITUTION

### I.

The name of this organization shall be The Southern Historical Association.

### II.

Its purpose shall be the encouragement of the study of history in the South, with particular emphasis on the history of the South.

### III.

All persons who are interested in promoting the purposes of this Association are eligible for membership therein.

### IV.

The Association shall hold one annual meeting and such other meetings as the council may call.

### V.

The officers shall be a president, a vice-president, and a secretary-treasurer. The vice-president shall succeed to the presidency. Other officers shall be elected at each annual meeting as provided in the by-laws, and shall hold office for one year or until their successors are qualified.<sup>1</sup>

### VI.

There shall be an executive council consisting of the president, the vice-president, the secretary-treasurer, the managing editor of *The Journal of Southern History*, ex-presidents for a period of three years following the expiration of their terms of office, and six additional members, two of whom shall be elected at each annual meeting for a term of service of three years each.

### VII.

The duties of the council shall be to: (1) decide upon the time and place of the annual meeting of the Association, and to call such other meetings as it may think advisable; (2) appoint the managing editor and the board of editors of *The Journal of Southern History*; (3) fill vacancies which may occur in any office until the beginning of the next calendar year; (4) prepare a budget and handle the business of the Association; (5) formulate and propose to the Association plans for carrying its purposes into effect.

### VIII.

The constitution and by-laws may be amended by a vote of two thirds of the members present and voting at the annual business meeting. Any proposed amendment shall be submitted to the secretary-treasurer and must be sent by him to the members with the notice of the annual meeting.

<sup>1</sup> Adopted November 5, 1938, as a substitute for the original Article V.

## BY-LAWS

## I.

The annual dues of the Association shall be \$3.00. Upon payment of \$50.00 any person may become a life member, exempt from the payment of further dues.

## II.

The fiscal year shall begin on January 1. Terms of office shall begin on the first of January following regular election.

## III.

Elections shall be by ballot at the business session of each annual meeting. Nominations shall be made by a nominating committee and may be made by any member from the floor.

## IV.

The president shall appoint annually a committee on program, a committee on nominations, a committee on membership, and such other committees as the council or Association shall authorize. The committee on nominations shall consist of five members, one of whom shall serve a second year and be chairman of the committee his second year.<sup>2</sup>

## V

The official organ of the Association shall be *The Journal of Southern History*, which shall be distributed to all members. The policies of the *Journal* shall be determined by the managing editor and the board of editors, eight in number. Members of the board of editors shall serve four years, two to be chosen each year.

## VI.

A quorum shall consist of fifteen members.

<sup>2</sup> The amendment regarding the committee on nominations was adopted November 20, 1937.

# Notes and Documents

## THE JOHN TOBLER MANUSCRIPTS: AN ACCOUNT OF GERMAN-SWISS EMIGRANTS IN SOUTH CAROLINA, 1737

*Edited by* CHARLES G. CORDLE

John Tobler, the author of these papers, had been governor (*Landeshauptmann* in the manuscripts) of the Ausser Rhoden portion of the Swiss canton of Appenzell. Being deposed in consequence of the struggle, 1732-1735, between the Zellwegers and the Wetters, or the *Linden* and the *Harten*, he left the country in disgust and, together with one Sebastian Zuberbuehler, led a group of Swiss to Carolina. Many of these emigrants settled near Savannah Town in the township of New Windsor, in what is now the Beech Island section of South Carolina, only a few miles from Augusta, Georgia.<sup>1</sup> They were supposed to be followed by a still greater number; and throughout these papers the author shows much concern for those who were to come later. In 1754 and in later years Tobler published a Carolina almanac, copies of which are preserved by the Charleston Library Society. He died April 19, 1765.<sup>2</sup>

The Tobler manuscripts, comprising a letter of March 18, 1737, and a portion of Tobler's diary, from February 11 to March 18, 1737, and copied by two different hands in German script, are preserved in the archives at Trogen, Canton Appenzell. The editor learned of their existence through Frau Bruckner-Thiersch of Basel, whose nephew works

<sup>1</sup> For further information about this colony, see Gilbert T. Voigt, *The German and German-Swiss Element in South Carolina, 1732-1752*, *University of South Carolina Bulletin*, No. 113 (Columbia, 1922), 17-18, 19-20, 31-33, 44-51.

<sup>2</sup> *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* (Charleston, 1900-), X (1909), 162, quoting records kept by Colonel Isaac Hayne.

in the *Staatsarchiv* there; and he secured photostat copies through the kindness of Herr Ratschreiber Buchmann of St. Gallen. Besides abbreviations and omissions the papers have many archaic and provincial expressions which make translation difficult. Words and phrases which the translators<sup>3</sup> have been unable to render into English have been copied and italicized. In places the word order has been changed for smoothness, and the punctuation has been modernized. Also lengthy sentences have been divided into component parts to make the meaning clear. For lack of space in this article many parts dealing with family matters, greetings, discussion of the weather, and the like have been omitted.

In the letter written from "Carlestown" and addressed to relatives and friends in Switzerland, Tobler stated that the party sailed from Falmouth December 5 and landed in Carolina on February 1; and that of more than two hundred people on board only four persons died during the voyage. With the idea of encouraging emigration to Carolina, he added that there was need for skilled laborers such as carpenters, gunsmiths, and the like. He requested his friends to send him roofing nails and other supplies, and recommended that newcomers should bring linen garments, good muskets, piece goods, whetstones, scythes and sickles, all kinds of seeds, copper vessels, lead, and gunpowder. The letter continued:

A pastor in this land has yearly from the government 500 lb. & a fine estate near the town. He must, however, be ordained in London in the presence of the bishop; and there must be in addition a hundred heads of families. There are already some villages begun with people, but few that have enough heads of families for a benefice. In Orangeburg they would like to have more people in order that there might be a benefice. When you write to me, the place where [I] intend to live is called Savaneton; & [I] can be addressed at Carleston [his spelling] in care of the German printer "To Mr. Lewis Timothy," which gentleman promised me to send the goods. . . . Whatever else concerns me, I am not sorry that I have traveled hither; but I am sorry that I did not travel four or five years earlier so that I might have overcome the hard beginning that [I] now have before me. . . .

Below Savaneton, whither with the help of God we shall move, there is much

<sup>3</sup> The editor was assisted in making the translation by Mrs. Cordle and by Mr. and Mrs. George Steffan, both natives of Austria. Mrs. Steffan is head of the department of modern languages at Payne College, Augusta, Georgia.

good land; and if you do not come, strangers will take it away, which in future years can no longer be prevented. . . .

Tobler added greetings to friends in Switzerland and gave directions for sending the globes, books, and other articles that he had ordered.

The following fragment of Governor Tobler's diary was dated at "Charlestown," March 18, 1737.

Friday the 11th February . . . to-day the group requested have come to a friendly agreement and arranged to go to Port royal.

Saturday the 12th . . . to-day the 22 persons (but only 5 Appenzellers) left for Portroyal to guard that fortress. The people from Puenden [Graubunden?] have all gone for the reason that they, like others, used up their money on the journey and again hope to earn much, because twelve pounds and rations every week have been promised them <sup>p</sup><sup>4</sup> They had to swear an oath to consider the present king in England the rightful king, and not the Pretender nor another Catholic king. Hereafter when they come back, they shall be able to go where they desire in the whole land according to their pleasure, and in all things [be] regarded as if they were Englishmen themselves. . . .

Sunday the 13th . . . in the afternoon the shoemaker Bruderer from Gaeiss came and brought news from my father and son, that they [are] both vigorous and healthy and advise me to come to them, because the land [is] very good, and if I do not like it, [I] should plant his land with my servants and then inquire and afterwards go (into) the land where I will. But because there was no longer enough good land for the whole people, and I did not doubt many more people would come later who would like to live among us, for the people's sake [I] did not accept but decided to remain with them, where they and I consider best. . . .

Monday the 14th . . . to-day the people were assembled and decided to inspect three places and then together to choose which place they like best, namely Amelia or the English Sante [*sic*], Gangre [Congaree?] and Savanaton;<sup>5</sup> and [it] is arranged [that] "Mr." Glaser, Schelling from the Rheinthal, Melchior

<sup>4</sup> This symbol *p* appears very frequently in parts of the manuscripts. Since the translators were unable to learn its meaning (it appears to indicate a pause of some kind), they have omitted it elsewhere.

<sup>5</sup> Amelia was a township on the Santee River. Congaree was located about the head of the Santee, near the present site of Columbia. Savanaton, or Savannah Town, was a trading post located near the Carolina end of the present-day Sand Bar Ferry Bridge, about four miles from Augusta. There Fort Moore had been erected before 1719 to protect the traders and to guard the frontier. To Savannah Town there was a trail from Charles Town, which was in general followed by the railroad from Charleston to Hamburg and Augusta about a century later. Edward McCrady, *The History of South Carolina under the Proprietary Government, 1670-1719* (New York, 1897), 639; *id.*, *The History of South Carolina under the Royal Government, 1719-1776* (New York, 1901), 299-300, 639, 703.

Liechtertage, Hans Kruese and I [in the manuscript the sentence is not completed; the writer of the original probably said that these men were named as a committee to inspect the three possible sites for a settlement]. It has been further decided that all shall enjoy like privileges, and that no one (if Savanaton is chosen) may join us if the majority does not want him, lest all kinds of people must be received whom we do not like and who would only cause us strife. In addition we promised to hold together; and if one or the other does not care to remain with the company, then he is at liberty [to go], but should afterwards be regarded as a stranger if he proposes to go away.

Tuesday the 15th . . . to-day we informed the "Commissari" of our intention, who said that "Provision" had already been sent to Savanatown for us; and if we wished to inspect the places, it would require several weeks' time, so that we could plant nothing more this year. The people were again assembled and decided that the men should go in a body to Savanaton in order to inspect this place. If they liked this place, they could begin to work and have women, children and baggage follow on the river; if not, [they could] have the privilege like others of going away again to choose another pleasing location. The other 2 points with regard to equality of privileges and reception of strangers were unanimously ratified. Those persons who were not willing to agree to these things [but chose] to go elsewhere are Mr. Giezetanner, Hans Jacob Giger and his sons, as also Abraham Giger.<sup>6</sup>

Wednesday the 16th . . . the Gouverneur was unwilling to let those go who did not want to remain with the company, because [he said] this place was one of the best and was chosen "expresse" for us; consequently it was not advisable to choose something else at great cost and loss of much time, especially since it was already late to plant. In the meantime Mr. Giezedanner and his adherents, however, began a great uproar and asserted they were betrayed because they were not permitted to go where they wished, and [said] if they cultivated the land, they would have to go away again, and told more lies; and although they railed at the pastor [Zuberbuehler] and not at me, yet it is not right to spread such lies. Because a seal and letters are given that (if) the land is allotted, then it is one's property, so that even the king himself can offer no objection. Ten years [one] is exempt [from taxes]; and then one pays yearly on 100 acres no more than 1 florin 30 Kreuzer in your money, which [I have] heard from reliable people. In the evening many determined that they did not want to dwell near Mr. Giezedanner and his adherent, because they had already caused so much strife on the journey, and nothing else [was] to be expected than that they would continue it;

<sup>6</sup> Giezetanner, sometimes Giezedanner, was perhaps John Giessendanner, later prominent in the Orangeburg settlement, whose uncle, John Ulrich Giessendanner, was pastor of the Switzers who in 1735 formed a settlement in Orangeburg Township. In 1742 Abram Giger, Herman Gyger, and Hans Jac. Gyger received grants of land in Saxe-Gotha, or Congaree. Voigt, *German and German-Swiss Element in South Carolina*, 56.

therefore they would rather live without him and in peace. [They said] they now had good reason because he had himself decided to leave us. It might also happen as at Graffentel, when he also declared he would not travel with us and nevertheless remained with us without any persuasion. Besides we knew what a useless man Herman Giger was, how he swore and cursed. They can also do without his father and cousin.

Thursday the 17th . . . to-day a place Fridrichsburg<sup>7</sup> was allotted to the people from the Rheinthal (except Felix Riz). Thither they will move tomorrow. This place is located to the north on a river that flows into the Sante but is not open [free from obstructions], so that one can sail only with small craft into the right river. [It] is therefore false, as they yesterday alleged, that one is betrayed who goes there. Mr. Giezedanner, who is left with them as the headman, did not go with them. Our party is glad because almost [all] those have gone whom they gladly bade go, except [that] we should have liked to keep old Schelling. [It] is therefore better [that] they have gone pleasantly than if we had got rid of them otherwise, because they caused us only embarrassment, especially Mr. Giezetanner, who cannot endure the church and the ministry, and [in] the whole matter has been an intriguer against the pastor. As they previously thought, I should go with them; but I choose rather to inspect the place chosen by Mr. Zuberbuehler and then go at will to this or another place, since I, of course, consider not only myself, but I should like to choose a place where not only this company but also those coming later might get good land, as I am minded not to rest until [I have] found such a place. You, however, who have a desire to come in here, guard against all kinds of people whom you do not know. We had people in our ship who were as maliciously angry at all the Appenzellers as I have seen in my whole life. Because, however, they, praise God, [are gone] from us, I shall not name them. If Mr. Vorbuirger goes with you, receive him and his company with joy because he is a Christian and no fighter [and] will also guard against such people who love only quarrel and strife. Should people be with you whom you call Pietists, test them well, for all is not gold that glitters . . . . However, they are not all to be shunned; and here in this place they can hold publicly their teachings and meetings if they [are] according to the Holy Scriptures. We also like them well if they, like others, help to found churches and schools, live according to the word of God as much as is possible, do not scorn the pastor when he teaches according to God's word, also do not always rail in their teachings only against the church and declaim passionately against the people who go in it.

Friday the 18th . . . in the morning we went before the "Commissari" and had to take an oath for so long as we remain in the land, that we respect and regard the present king in England as the legitimate one, also his princes and

<sup>7</sup> Fridrichsburg was a township on the Wateree River, perhaps near the present site of Camden.



princesses as the legitimate successors, and not the Pretender or another Catholic king; also against the pope and invocation of the saints, as also with regard to the Holy Supper, that bread and wine are established symbols and that no transubstantiation takes place. [We] would be permitted to go in the whole land where we pleased, and if we wished, to go out again. The land that is given us is 50 acres a head, for us and our posterity's property. We might sell it, exchange it, in fact dispose of it at will as with our property. We enjoy every right, like born Englishmen. In fact, [he said] in all things there shall be no difference between us and the Englishmen. They give us a certain quantity of provisions for a year, as also implements and cattle; and [we] have to give nothing in return except we must return to the servants the provisions that we [received] for the service years, when their service years are up and they receive their own land. They give us a guide to the place as also expenses above the yearly. Wife, children and baggage will be brought to us afterwards by water as soon as we have declared where we wish to remain. Those coming later are relieved of such trouble; if they only say they want to come to us, they will soon be escorted themselves to that place. To-day at nine o'clock a decreasing eclipse of about 5 inches was seen here through the mist. With you it probably took place in the afternoon.

Saturday the 19th . . . This morning the people from the Rheinthal set out for Fridrichsburg. Their leader was the shoemaker from Gaeiss. The "Commissari" distributed some implements and "Provision" on account and promised to give us on Monday morning a guide to show us the way to Savaneton. . . . Glaser has been persuaded to remain with us and to go with us to Savanaton to inspect that place.

Sunday the 20th . . . a divine service was held by the pastor in the French church, and Cunrad Ouzster's daughter was christened. Yesterday "provision" was given to the people on account; and it amounts for one person above 12 years (below that 2 count as 1) to 350 lb. of meat (the English pound here is 32 half-ounces), 200 lb. of rice, 1 bushel of salt and 8 bushels of corn (1 bushel is not less than 2 quarters with you). 30 head have an iron hand mill; and 3 head have one cow, 1 calf, 1 pig. They also give to a male person over 12 years 2 mattocks and an axe, also in general grindstones and wood saws, according to the size of the company. To-day [I] traveled 6 miles (an English mile is 2000 paces, as [I] myself measured to-day; one must therefore run hard if one wants to run three miles in one hour; it is known that 4 English [miles] make 1 German) into the country and found at first poor land, where only pines [*Fohr*] or Scotch pines [*Daehlen*<sup>8</sup>] grow. The farther, however, one comes from Carlstown, the better land one finds; yet up to this place [I] have

<sup>8</sup> By *Daehlen* is meant the longleaf pine, to which Tobler gave the name of a European tree.

always found sandy land . . . . To-day I was asked to give 40 lb. for a strong but not fine 8 year old horse and believe that I shall take it to-morrow, because I find it hard to travel 150 miles on foot, and especially because [I] want to take along my daughter and a maid, who cannot walk all the time either. A fine outfit for horseback riding without cloak and boots recently cost me 40 lb.; yet saddle blanket and pistol holsters could not be made so neatly with you. In short, everything here is very high, partly because too many people arrive, the transportation, on the other hand, [is] too great, and the skilled workers [are] too few. Good artisans can here earn their piece of bread and much more besides, as I have myself met some who, because they could not pay their passage over sea, were sold as servants for 4 years and now live in great wealth. There is here a German tailor who himself told me that in one year he can earn 1000 lb., and his bought servants have to do almost all work. Otherwise, everything here is overcrowded with negroes, who as slaves do nearly all [the] work. [They] appear, however, very wild and roguish; and [I] could not believe anything good of them. They bear very many children, who must also serve as slaves their whole lives. According to my way of thinking, they live like cattle. In short, I do not like them, although they do one not the least harm nor dare to because it is forbidden under heavy penalties.

Monday the 21st . . . on this day at 11 o'clock our 25 persons began, in God's name, the journey to Savaneton; and after we had traveled about 15 miles, we remained in the wood over night, where we slept as securely as with you in a closed room, because everywhere [there is] surplus wood to make fire and to sleep around it. Therefore every night we made 2 or 3 big fires the whole night to cook, to warm ourselves (because the nights [are] still cold) and to sleep around.

Tuesday the 22nd . . . we found much good [land] but also poor land near by, which latter was sandy, also briars and bushes here and there, as also fine "plantations" ([they] are country estates) with blooming peach trees. In the morning some came into a house, where they got food and drink for nothing. Noon we came to Dortstetten [Dorchester?], a pretty good place on a navigable stream and only 25 miles from Carlstown. There a town is supposed to be built. There are also many houses there already. The people are indeed friendly; but if one wants to buy something, and they see that one must necessarily have it, they overcharge their goods very much, as we saw [in the case of] two horses, which were overcharged more than half; and yet they rarely haggle about the price of anything. We again remained over night in the forest near a poor plantation.

Wednesday the 23d . . . yesterday evening Jno. Iller and Hs. Naegelge got lost in the wood through imprudence and remained over night on a good plantation. Glaser and our guide sought them, and the latter found [them] because they went back where they had been yesterday evening. . . . Afterwards we continued our journey, and soon a snake about 4 feet long was killed by Hans

Kruesti with a small stick. At 1 o'clock we came to the Ediston [Edisto] River to a house, where we not only got provisions for 4 days, but the master of the house gave me and my daughter Ellsbeth very good food. We ate bread from maize, which was very good and almost snow white. . . . This river is not so large as the Rhine at Rheinegg. After we swam the horses across the river and carried our goods across, we traveled a mile farther to a plantation and remained in the forest. The man, however, was unwilling to leave me and three other persons in the forest but urged us to come to his house, fed us very well and assigned us beds for sleeping. These were Glaser, Gabriel and my daughter.

Thursday the 24th it began to rain in the night; therefore the people came to us early in the morning, to whom also quarters were given. Because it rained the whole day, we remained there.

Friday the 25th . . . the man in the house still fed us and was very unwilling to let us go, and much less to take money from us. Because we, however, were very eager to finish our journey as quickly as possible, we nevertheless left this place because it seemed as if the rainy weather would stop; and we found now bad, now good land. The *Daeblen* (which [is] a kind of pine), which yield the most wood, are the finest and tallest timber that I [have] seen in my lifetime. . . . There are also genuine pines [*Fohren*], which, however, [have] not such fine timber as the *Daeblen*. . . . The cypresses are still finer, of which [there are] very many. In short, a genuine lover of building does not yet know where to look because Carolina is a continuous forest.

Saturday the 26th . . . the people had to wade at times up to the *hosenband* [garter or belt]. In the evening we came to a hut, where [there was] a plantation, where we could cook, sleep and warm ourselves. There was no one there but two couples of married people, a savage and a negro or slave couple, and a negro child. Almost every day we saw stags. In the evening we ate venison, which the savage furnished us very cheap. . . .

Sunday the 27th . . . at 11 o'clock we set out and under continuous rain came at 3 o'clock 11 miles distant to M[onsieur] Golche's plantation, which is situated by the road on the right. This man is an inn-keeper and is ashamed to sell his goods very high to traveling people. Here is half way between Carls-town and Savaneton.

Monday the 28th . . . the "Commissari" in Carlston directed us to take here "Provision" [to last] to Savaneton because [he said] nothing more was to be had up to that place. But this man did not respect the "Commissari's" writing and would furnish us nothing except very dear and for our money. We had to take it as a favor that he had given the people for 4 lb. a steer that was cut 4 days before and was nothing but blue flesh and bone under the skin, and to Gabriel and me a good little pig (which [was] not high-priced) for 3 lb., and a bushel of corn or peas for 2 lb., a bottle of rum for 12½ shillings. At Carls-town one can get more than 4 for that price; and if one buys much, one can get

better at 10 shillings a pail [gallon] (is 4 bottles), which is about 4 St. Gallen quarts. To be sure, we might still have had quarters to remain there; but nevertheless in the evening at 5 o'clock we traveled 4 or 5 miles more into the forest to spend the night there, where we rested better than in the house.

Tuesday the 1st March . . . [we] traveled over much good land. There was so much dried up grass to be found in the woods that [it was] easy to conclude that in many places here in the woods more grass grows than in the best fields with you. This grass is often set on fire by the travelers and savages in the spring in order not only to check the insect pests, but so that new grass should grow for the cattle and the travelers' horses. . . . In this land everybody travels on horseback (even the slaves), which also [is] best and costs the least because one can soon come far and easily across the streams because [there are] yet few dry and good wide roads. [They] are, however, to be made up to Savanetown, as already there is such a road up to 50 miles, which [is] at least 3 wagons wide and straight as a line, so that one can see through the forest very far behind and before him. . . .

Wednesday the 2nd . . . after we had traveled a mile or two, we came to a wretched plantation, where there was only a single man. Also there was little cleared land there. Yesterday & to-day we saw very large whitish gray birds (larger than geese). We found much burnt off grass, which had come out again beautifully green & was very good for the horses. In the afternoon the land became at first mountainlike, which [was] gradually rising upward, then level, & again gradually sloping downward, then again level. For the most part, however, the valleys are spongy with water, especially at this time, because this week there has been a high water. This afternoon for the first time we found swamps, so that the horses in places could not easily get through, as I then drowned my shoes while riding not in the water but in the swamp.

Thursday the 3d the land became even more mountainlike & now and then very poor & sandy. This day we found very many nut trees, which, however, were sharp cornered and *grueblich* [pitted?], which I suppose comes because the trees are not tended, for they appear very wild. . . . After 10 miles we came to a 3 branched body of water, which came up on the horses as far as the saddles. Afterwards we found no more water at all for 10 miles but only burning grass in the woods. Afterwards we again found an equally deep [stream]. There we rested & ate dinner rather late. Afterwards we traveled 11 more miles and arrived very happily in Savaneton at 7 o'clock in the evening, without the guide, because a part of the people could not follow, so we left them in the morning with the guide, & by degrees continued our journey. We came to the house of a merchant, who fed us and gave us quarters for sleeping.

Friday the 4th . . . we asked for a man who might show us the land that Mr. Zuberbuehler chose for the people from Appenzell; but because the water was so high this week that many cattle & swine were drowned in the swamp, they post-

poned the matter until to-morrow, because there was a body of water in between, that one could not readily pass through with the horses. This, however, was above Savaneton. The merchant assigned us two houses to live in. At twelve o'clock noon came the people, who were quartered in the one house. The Savana River passes by near this place & is about as large as the Rhine at Rheineck. It is said, in fact, to have many fish; [I] have, however, not seen any, although [I] stood by the river. Moreover, Savaneton is located on high ground; indeed, in places the bank is almost as high as a church tower. There is a fort<sup>9</sup> here with 14 men, where there are also 20 to 30 little houses built. [As for] trees, [I] have seen none here but peachtrees, which [are] very thick with blooms. As I wrote this, the king of the savages, beside 4 others, stood beside me. They looked at me very sharply, also showed the treaty of peace which they had made with the king in England; and after they had shown other signs of friendship and love from themselves, they bowed, offered me their hands & took a courteous leave. They painted themselves strangely with red color. The king wore a beautiful brass breastpiece over his heart. Besides, the people here are very friendly & do whatever they can to please us.

Saturday the 5th . . . [I] was supposed to go to the fort for breakfast; but because I intended to inspect the land, [I] excused myself; & at 10 o'clock there came 2 guides, one of whom spoke German. With them we traveled several miles above [Savaneton] toward the north. There, to be sure, we looked at pretty good land but not yet pleasing to us & too far from the river. [We] said therefore that we did not like it; & if no better land & [land] by the river [was] to be found, [we] would go back again to other places. Because, however, they were not willing to let us go, they traveled with us below Savaneton (the people on foot could not follow). As soon as we were 3 or 4 miles from the river, we were already seeing better land; and soon it appeared good enough to us. It was almost nothing but wood with leaves of oak and nut trees, & only a few pines near the river. Far from it there are enough of them all right. Beside them are very many wild grape vines, which gives us hope of planting there good grape vines. There are also blooming peachtrees there. Indeed, without doubt all kinds of fruit-bearing trees would thrive well there if one only had stones and kernels of all kinds of fine fruits. The guide informed us that there is such good land down the river for 30 miles and up on the other side for 12 miles, which is also credible because, so far as we have seen, we have seen nothing but good land. Therefore [there is] land enough for some 100 persons by a beautiful navigable river. The land is not very level, but at first a little sloping & mountainlike, but by far not as above Savaneton, where it is almost as mountainous (but not so high) as in Switzerland. Here are good grasses; & because the land [is] high, the air appears healthy to me. Indeed, it is at or on the

<sup>9</sup> Fort Moore.

sources of the mountains, so that above [is] mountain & below plain. The inclement weather has hindered us from investigating the matter further; only we have not forgotten to observe that in places the bank [is] pretty high & gradually rises the farther one goes from the river. There are still some poor huts there, which I suppose the savages formerly made, now, however, abandoned. [It] may be also that the Christians come and either die or otherwise abandon them. But they may be made by whom they will, this great tract of land belongs to us & those following, because only one person has had land apportioned there, so that consequently we are the first except for him. [We] wish only that those who have a desire to come here should not delay long, lest strangers be before them, as people are always arriving who are eager for good land, especially if people are already there, for much good land in one tract by beautiful navigable rivers is beginning therefore to become scarce. [I] advise you therefore if you indeed wish to join us, not to travel so late as we, because this year we are almost too late for planting. This place is situated in north latitude  $33\frac{1}{2}$  degrees & is situated  $81\frac{1}{2}$  degrees to the west of London (15 degrees make one hour; therefore day [comes] 5 hours 26 minutes later than at London in England, and from London to Switzerland [one] finds also about 50 minutes [difference]). As this was revealed to those people who waited in Savaneton, they thanked God & unanimously determined to remain there, which delighted the people of Savaneton; and [they] promised to give the people "provision." [I] ate 2 or 3 times at a gentleman's house with several persons & was supposed to go to several places but had no time; & yet they would take nothing for it but gave us more bread for the way; & one offered & requested [me] to leave my daughter at his house until I came back, which [I] left to my daughter's choice. . . .

Sunday the 6th . . . because now those who showed us the way to Savaneton wanted to travel to Orangeburg, we decided (because I wanted besides to go to my father's) to go along. At 1 o'clock in the afternoon we set out on the journey in the name of God; & after we traveled 11 miles, we came again to that body of water passed on Thursday, & after 10 miles to the 3 branched [stream], all of which came up to the saddles of the horses, after 3 miles to another, where we remained over night. It was a very cold wind and bright. This day the savages brought the merchant in Savaneton buffalo, bear & deer hides very cheaply, in fact, even a leather boat, which can be folded up & carried easily, & afterwards 4 or 5 persons can travel in it across the rivers. Indeed they bring those people meat of all kinds of game & of most beautiful birds for a very low price.

Monday the 7th . . . after we had traveled 11 miles, we arrived at a new plantation by the road on the right. The man gave us something to eat. We arrived there at 9 o'clock & saw in front of the house about a half target shot away 6 wild cocks or Indian [birds, turkeys]. The man shot at one; and although he was close by, yet he missed it. We saw them almost every day, &

indeed many, especially on the return journey. After about 2 hours we left; and because our guide's horse could no longer go well, we had to remain at 4 o'clock in the evening at a wretched plantation. There were 3 persons present, who, however, did not all belong here, because on the journey from Charleston only one man [was] there. [We] had met one man & the woman at "Mr." Golcher's as people traveling to Savaneton.

Tuesday the 8th we had to wait until 7 o'clock & still set out without the guide. They told us that 5 or 6 miles more a little road went to the left, & we should take it. As we had now traveled so far, we looked for the road a long time, rode back & forth, but could not find any. They themselves did not know it, because we afterwards learned that 10 or 11 miles more, & not 5 or 6 miles more, a road went to the left. Because we now had hope of finding from Mons. Golcher a way to Orangeburg, we traveled there with all earnestness & arrived there fresh & remained there over night, who received us honorably. [He] told us that there was indeed a road to that place but at this time [there was] too much water, so that we could not get through. We must, however, [he said] go back only 11 miles; there a road to the right would appear, which would bring us to the Ediston River.

Wednesday the 9th we again traveled back in order to come to Orangeburg if possible; & after we had traveled about 11 miles, we found a road to the right, & after about 20 miles on this road a plantation near the river, & indeed near the western arm of Ediston. As we arrived, it began to rain very hard; & after we had given the horses peas which had been presented to us, we wanted to go across the river. It rained as hard as [I have] ever seen; & yet because we feared the river might swell still more after the hard rain, we did not want to miss the time to cross if possible; but the river ran so strongly that we could not bring a horse across, but they hastened with all their might back toward us. For the people it was bad also because the big tree that was felled across it was far under water on the other side, so that we were forced this night to remain over night on this plantation in a little wretched hut. Here is still much good land.

Thursday the 10th we decided to go straightway to Charleston & not to strive against a higher power, because we had not reached our goal these 2 days, since we [were] just as far from Charleston as on Tuesday morning & about 20 miles from Orangeburg. . . . We [were] therefore again at dinner at "Mr." Golcher's, who again made the account good. After we had traveled 11 more miles, we arrived again at the plantation where on the previous journey there were only savages & "Negres." This time "Mr." Kelly himself was there together with 3 other Englishmen, who soon gave us something to eat. We also desired to buy corn for the horses. [He] said, however, that he had little & none to sell. [He] gave some to us, however, for nothing. This was the tallest man that [I have] seen in Carolina; elsewhere also [I have seen] few his equals. He was a good shot & brought home 2 turkeys.

Friday morning the 11th we wanted very much to travel early. Because, however, the latter [Kelly] together with another wanted to travel with us, we had to eat breakfast first. After 8 o'clock we departed & came at 11 o'clock to an old abandoned plantation, 10 miles from the night's quarters. Soon we came to a road that led us to the right to a new road to Charleston. At 1 o'clock we found as good land as [I had] seen. At 2 o'clock we arrived at the plantation of the one who traveled with us. He gave us food & drink & was so kind to us that we were persuaded to remain at his place over night. He has many "Negres" who work, & there is in this place very good but wet land for rice planting. This day we found very much water, which sometimes came on the horses up to the saddles (the little [streams] one pays no attention to) and elsewhere wet enough. The man's name is "Mr." Johann Rieth. . . .

Saturday morning the 12th at 6 o'clock we left the place & at 9½ o'clock came to the Ediston River, where [there is] a ferry for people & cattle. Because, however, others were before us, we had to wait a long time until the others were ferried over; & after we [were] across, we took the new cut road, which [is] 3 wagons wide & so straight that one can see far before & behind him. This road goes to Charleston. We found, however, very much water & mud, so that the horses had very much to do. Today we traveled over much good but low & damp land, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon across a navigable body of water over a bridge. Here we had over 20 miles more, which took the hope from us of coming to Charleston this day. Nevertheless, we came at 6 o'clock to a navigable river by the "ferre," where also there was a ferry, & only 12 miles to Charleston. Therefore we continued the journey with such earnestness that at 10 o'clock in the evening we arrived healthy and happy in Charleston. We left the horses 6 miles outside with the one who had furnished me my horse. . . . The 8 March [a proclamation] was read out that only this year should "Provision" be given to the people, but no longer in the future, which ought to be noted by those who have a desire to come here, that they do not fail to arrive, if possible, this very year.

[I] met here also my son Ulric,<sup>10</sup> who already speaks English well & has grown considerably. . . .

Sunday the 13th a divine service was held by the pastor. I informed the people of my journey & land, who [were] content. Soon, however, [they] would have become homesick if [I] had not come soon, because the Germans here spread all kinds of lies, so that one does not know what to believe until one has seen it himself. [I] gave Glaser 25 lb. in the name of the whole people because he journeyed with us. In the afternoon Glaser departed for Orangeburg, & with him my son to buy cattle & then bring my father along to Savane-

<sup>10</sup> While riding from his father's to Fort Moore on February 15, 1760, Ulric Tobler, then a captain of militia, was slain and scalped by a Cherokee Indian. *Charleston South Carolina Gazette*, February 23, 1760.



ton. There are 80 miles from Orangeburg to Savaneton, & from Orangeburg to Carleston the far & better way 120, the other, however, 80.

Monday the 14th it was still good weather, as yesterday also. Tuesday nothing important happened because the "Commissari" was not here. Moreover I bought to-day much food of peas, flour, rice, cider, rum, sugar & bread. To-day the Zueblins<sup>11</sup> departed for Purisburg.

Tuesday the 15th . . . the "Commissari" has not yet come; therefore we do not know yet when we can depart.

Wednesday the 16th . . . we have not yet been able to locate the "Commissari." His wife conjectures he might have become sick on his plantation. Now he has come & has promised to expedite the matter as quickly as possible.

Thursday the 17th . . . a son was very safely born to Hs. Ulric Frey. Friday 18th [I] traveled 20 miles into the country. . . . This day & Saturday the 19th were summer days. Yesterday [I] stopped at the Gouverneur's on the trip [to see] about suitable land for the construction of a saw mill, & to-day 150 acres have been granted me. . . . As for Carolina, I have myself found thus: that it is a continuous forest of many kinds of fine timber, as the diary shows. In most places, however, the timber does not stand thick because the burnt off grass weakens the young timber & sets fire to much large timber, so that it either dries up & then is again set on fire the next year or is thrown down by the wind, as then many thousand trees lie everywhere & rot, & some burn with the grass. Much is set on fire too by the savages & travelers, so that the timber rather decreases than increases. Except in damp places, where nothing can be set on fire, there stands much very large leafy timber of oaks, also whole patches of cypresses. There is the best rice land, but very hard to clear. Besides, the land is flat far & wide. If one comes far from the sea, it often has little mountains, which are, however, not so steep & high as with you. [I] suppose, however, if one comes still farther from the sea than [I] have been, the mountains will become still higher, as then the description inform[s] that Carolina is separated from New France & florida by high mountains. Besides, the land is well supplied with fine navigable rivers & very many tributaries which flow into the large ones. The water in them is very light & good & does nothing to one however much one drinks, except heed be taken that it would purge if much were drunk. The low places near the sea have bad & unhealthy water. [I] cannot praise them either for healthy air, especially here, which, however, almost all seaports commonly have. The people in general are not so healthy here as they were on the sea. Some of them are, however, themselves to blame because they love the rum, wine & beer too much, which [are] all stronger than with you. They think too the belly must always be full, while newcomers would do

<sup>11</sup> These were three brothers from St. Gallen. David Zueblin (the name was later shortened to Zubly), one of the brothers, was the father of John Joachim Zubly, who migrated to America in 1744, and who was later a famous Savannah preacher and a member of the Continental Congress.

much better if they ate and drank moderately, because they do no work. For my part, [I] can write, praise God, that on the whole journey up to this hour [I have] had no sick hour, have used no medicines either except some just for sick people, & nevertheless drunk now and then a little rum, beer, wine & "ponsch" but not in abundance, but a little as a medicine, while others often fill themselves, so that they suffer injury to their health.

As for the land, whether it be poor or good, [I] have met [it] everywhere & have divided it into 4 parts, while [I have] found a rather small part that is good for nothing but timber growing & a little grass because there [is] too much sand. On this part the finest timber does not grow, but [is] short & crooked; however, there is also fine [timber] among it. The second part I consider as good as if with you one cuts down forests on level ground & then plants, which must be somewhat manured. On this part grows very much grass & fine timber. The third part [I] consider just as good as if you should turn over & then sow your best fields, which at first needs no manuring but in a few years is needed. On this kind of ground there is fine corn 2 or 3 years without any manuring; & afterwards they fence it in, & then they drive the cattle only to spend the night on it, & then it is again as good as in the beginning. On this part very much grass grows; & if it were mown, if it were previously burnt off so that no old [grass] were among it, very good feed could be made for the cattle; & if old [grass] were among it, very good litter could be made, & one could have as much of it as one desired. In these three parts cattle raising could be put on a very good footing if plow land were made out of the fallow ground as with you, & then feed were made for the cattle for about 2 or 3 months, & they were put into the shed. Then they would give milk as well as with you, especially at somewhat elevated places. Indeed, the people say milk & butter are even more delicious than with you. If nothing, however, is given them to eat in the wintertime, they can give nothing. As then with you around [St.] Gall's day, also some days later not much could be expected from the cattle if you would not give them anything nor put them in the shed, as winters here well remind me how it is with you between [St.] Gall's day & St. Martin's day.<sup>12</sup>

The fourth part of the land, which [is] not the smallest but by far the best, has no similarity with your land. It yields for many years without cultivation what is necessary for human life & maintenance, & very richly at that, is, however, hard to cultivate because much large timber of oaks & other kinds of hardwood stands on it. One part is damp & produces very much rice. One part is dry & produces what one desires. But without planting no harvest must be expected, & the splendid fruits which you hope to enjoy here do not grow in forests but on planted places. [It] is therefore a pity that [there are] not industrious people here who would profit by this knowledge, as the Englishmen are nothing for that purpose at all but only for idleness. *p. p.* [and so forth?]

<sup>12</sup> St. Gall's day is October 16; St. Martin's day, November 11.

CYRUS GRIFFIN'S PLAN OF RECONCILIATION WITH THE  
AMERICAN COLONIES*Edited by* HENRY S. RORER

On Saturday, December 30, 1775, "a Solid Sensible young man"<sup>1</sup> from Virginia appeared at the home of the Earl of Dartmouth and asked to see his Lordship. Informed that his Lordship was not receiving visitors, the Virginian departed in disappointment, leaving, however, the following communication for the Earl to read at his leisure:

I have frequently done myself the honour to wait on your Lordship but never so fortunate to have a personal interview. To the humanity of my Lord Dartmouth's disposition it is almost improper to make any apology for submitting the enclosed plan of reconciliation between Great Britain and her Colonies. I am convinced that a plan of this sort is the only way to bring about a happy and permanent accommodation. Nothing can give more uneasiness to an American than the present deplorable situation of his Country in general, of his near connexions and the whole of his little fortune in particular. I hope your Lordship will pardon the freedom I have taken upon this occasion. Indeed the intrusion would be highly impertinent if we were not told from history that the efforts of the most inconsiderable person may sometimes be of the greatest service to the Community.

I have the honour to be

Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

CYRUS GRIFFIN.

Grange Court,  
Cary Street,  
Lincoln's Inn.<sup>2</sup>

The Earl of Dartmouth knew only this of Cyrus Griffin: he was a Virginian, and a parishioner of his Lordship's good friend and correspondent, the Reverend Isaac William Gibberne.<sup>3</sup> The Earl might have sup-

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Adams to John M. Jordan and Company of London, October 23, 1770, in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (Richmond, 1893-), XXIII (1916), 58.

<sup>2</sup> Copy furnished by the Honorable William Legge, Earl of Dartmouth, from original MS. in his files, January 11, 1938. It is not known why Griffin used the Lincoln's Inn address, as he was never a student there. T. Hodgkinson, librarian of the Inn, has checked the enrollments. Hodgkinson to the writer, March 30, 1938.

<sup>3</sup> *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XVII (1910), 435.

posed from the writer's address that he was a student at Lincoln's Inn, but such was not the case. Griffin had come to London from Virginia "in order to settle some trifling affairs,"<sup>4</sup> and probably had used the address of some student friend. The twenty-seven year old Virginian liked to appear important, and habitually chose as his friends "noble-men and gentlemen of distinction."<sup>5</sup>

Dartmouth examined the letter with its enclosure, and while we have no reason to believe that he was especially impressed, at least he concluded that it was worth saving. He endorsed it on the back, "C. Griffin, 30 December, 1775. with Plan of Reconciliation. Earl of Dartmouth." In his file it remained for more than a hundred years. In 1895 the Historical Manuscripts Commission included Griffin's letter, but not his plan of reconciliation, in the appendix to the 14th *Report*, volume II. The manuscript is in the possession of the present Earl of Dartmouth, who has very graciously furnished the writer with the following copy:

#### PLAN OF RECONCILIATION

That the Commissioners be instructed to meet either the whole or any number of those men who compose the Congress at any particular place except Philadelphia.

That when so met and Ceremonies adjusted they shall begin from the year 1763 and discuss each separate grievance complained of by America.

That when any point is fully debated the Meeting shall adjourn to the next day; in the meantime the Commissioners are to determine with themselves how far or whether they shall totally admit the hardship under consideration; such determination to be sent in writing upon the next morning, and by a special Officer, to the aforesaid delegates sitting to receive the same; the delegates to vote by a majority whether the determination of the Commissioners will be satisfactory.

That if there should be any points upon which The Commissioners and Delegates cannot perfectly agree those points may be referred to the wisdom of the next parliament, and the Colonies to be heard by Counsel in the said parliament.

That when all matters are finished at this united convention the Members of the Congress shall return to Philadelphia and the said Congress shall instantly dissolve themselves.

<sup>4</sup> Colonial Office Records, 5/115, fo. 393, transcripts in Library of Congress.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

That so soon as possible after the rising of the Convention the Governors of each Province shall call their respective assemblies; the aforesaid Members of the Congress to lay before the particular Assemblies of which they constitute a part, the whole plan of the negotiation and the several articles agreed upon at the said Convention; but which articles could not be finally established without the concurrence of the said assemblies.

That the different Assemblies shall ratify the above mentioned Treaty with the Commissioners if the Power of the Commissioners extend thus far, or petition the subsequent Parliament and make the said articles of accommodation the subject of their petitions.

1. objection. To treat with the Members of the Congress will acknowledge the Congress a Constitutional Body.

Ans. Not at all. It will be only treating with a number of men *out* of Congress, for by a resolution of all the Colonies, the Congress are to meet in the Town of Philadelphia, who are known to possess the confidence and affection of the people; such Treaty not being confirmed by those men which it would be if they were a constitutional body, but approved and confirmed by the different assemblies which are Constitutional Bodies. On the one hand this will satisfy parliament as not concluding or even negotiating with a congress as *the* Congress; on the other hand it will satisfy the people of America that Britain have paid so much attention to their free and uncorrupted choice of Fellow-citizens as with them to lay the foundation of amicable reconciliation.

2 Obj: The Assembly of Massachuset[t]s will never be called together under the late alteration of their Charter.

Ans. This objection may be got over in the following manner. It must be made an article of the general Compact that if the Assembly of Massachuset[t]s will be called together and confirm the said articles of Agreement in a limited time that act of parliament shall be repealed which makes an alteration in their Charter, or that a new Charter shall be given to the Colony of Massachuset[t]s, which new Charter must be drawn out by the Commissioners upon the spot and approved by the delegates.

All hostilities to cease from the moment the Commissioners arrive to America, and for ten days after the breaking up of the aforesaid convention in case they should break up without coming to stipulations of Friendship. Each party to remain in possession of their prisoners, captives and conquests till the final termination of this unhappy dispute.

The author of this plan of reconciliation had been a student at Edinburgh from 1766 to 1770, and a student at the Temple from 1771 to 1774. In 1770 he married the daughter of the Earl of Traquair, and the "trifling affair" which he returned to London to settle in the year 1774

was in reality the settlement of the estate of the deceased Earl. Because the young Earl had been married for some years without an heir being born, Griffin imagined that he would be able to induce him to share the estate with his sister, Lady Christina, whom Griffin had married. This hope proved futile, and after lingering in London for sixteen months, Griffin finally became alarmed over the safety of his family in America. In fact, at the very instant that he penned the letter to Dartmouth at Lincoln's Inn, Lord Dunmore was ravaging his native Virginia, and imperiling the life of Griffin's wife and infant son, John. Lord Germain granted Cyrus Griffin a passport in March, 1776, and he then returned to Virginia. Loyalloy supporting the American cause, he was in turn member of the Virginia assembly, member of the Continental Congress, president of Congress, commissioner to the Creek Indians of Georgia, and, under the newly organized United States government, first judge of the District Court for Virginia. He died in 1810, and undeservedly has become a forgotten man, obscured by the more distinguished figures among whom he moved.

## Book Reviews

*An Introduction to the History of Bermuda.* By Wesley Frank Craven. (Reprinted from *William and Mary College Quarterly*, Second Series, XVII, Nos. 2, 3, 4; XVIII, No. 1, 1937-1938. Pp. 173, v. Map. \$2.00.)

The Bermudas have received little attention from students of European expansion. Small in size, never the objects of intense rivalry like the Caribbean sugar islands, and lacking the dramatic appeal of the mainland possessions in the three Americas, this romantic archipelago has been almost entirely ignored by colonial specialists. Characteristically enough, the only scholarly monograph on the group published heretofore, Henry Wilkinson's *The Adventurers of Bermuda* (London, 1933), was the work of a popular island physician riding history as a hobby. Yet, as one of England's earliest overseas dependencies, the Bermudas offer exceptional possibilities for studying the evolution of colonizing techniques as well as the transit of old-world institutions, and consequently merit careful consideration by all persons interested in the human, economic, and administrative problems arising out of empire building.

The present work is modestly presented as a by-product of the author's well-known *Dissolution of the Virginia Company* (New York, 1932) and a study supplementing Dr. Wilkinson's volume. This underestimates its importance. It is, in reality, a notable contribution to colonial history because of the light it sheds on early English methods of establishing a trans-Atlantic dependency and operating it as a business venture, and because of its demonstration that procedure and policy were both gradually shaped through experimentation—an important point frequently overlooked. No writer on European expansion can therefore ignore it.

The "vexed Bermoothes" of Shakespeare's *Tempest* enjoyed ill repute as a graveyard of ships and were little known until 1609 when Sir George Somers was wrecked there while en route to Jamestown at the head of a Virginia Company fleet. During nearly a year of enforced residence in the islands, the passengers became well acquainted with their possibilities and rendered such enthusiastic reports that a Bermuda Company was incorporated in 1615 to exploit them. While virtually all stockholders were members of the Virginia Company, the two corporations were separate entities and the former survived the latter's extinction.

Whaling, lumbering, pearling, and sericulture had been looked to as speedy ways to wealth. All proved disappointing and tobacco planting ultimately be-

came the chief industry. Private allotments were made in an effort to stimulate initiative but much of the best land was kept in Company hands. The reconciliation of individual and corporate interests proved extremely difficult and most of the turmoil marking the colony's early years arose from this cause. A solution was, however, worked out by the trial and error method between 1618 and 1623. Proprietary interests emerged paramount but they were forced to assume the burden of their own overhead costs. Governmental machinery closely akin to that of contemporary England likewise evolved during the course of the conflict and the corporation's powers over the settlers were sharply curtailed.

All in all, it is a significant study, set forth in highly pleasing style.

George Washington University

LOWELL JOSEPH RAGATZ

*Kegley's Virginia Frontier; the Beginning of the Southwest; the Roanoke of Colonial Days.* By B. F. Kegley. (Roanoke, Virginia: The Southwest Virginia Historical Society, 1938. Pp. xxxvi, 786. Maps, illustrations. \$15.00.)

Although this work is entitled *Kegley's Virginia Frontier*, but two chapters are given to general settlement. These are introductory to the real subject, Southwest Virginia from 1740 to 1783, to which the remaining fourteen chapters are devoted. By means of records, the author attempts to show the advance of the frontier, the settlement of individuals and of villages, the locating of roads—the great migration which spread across Southwest Virginia.

The volume is replete with source material—land records, names of settlers with location and size of holdings, inventories, wills, militia rolls, service records, county court proceedings, etc. It is a repository of information in the raw, invaluable to the research student. The thousands of names of individuals should be of special interest to the genealogist, and anyone reading the book should be aided by an excellent index extending over a hundred pages.

What these records portray of movements, experiences, and conditions in the settlement of Southwest Virginia is characteristic of all frontier settlement. In these pages are revealed the strivings, successes, failures of human beings, a seething mass of humanity, crawling in and out, reproducing, eking out a livelihood, dying. Their passing leaves the area teeming with new life, no longer a frontier.

Publication invites criticism, and the reviewer is reminded of the wish in the Book of Job, "that mine adversary had written a book."

With such an accumulation of valuable records, it is unfortunate so little space is given to interpretation. The multiplicity of detail, the magnitude of minutiae leading nowhere robs the volume of much of its historical worth. In rapid succession appear pages of land grants, land transfers, wills, names of men in service, "additional" names of men in service, service records, detailed acts for the division and creation of counties and parishes, inventories, biographical



sketches, lists of all types of officers during various periods of time, revenues of counties, tithables, licenses for ordinaries, hemp certificates, "home places of interest," marriages, property lists, surveys—all given without order or connection.

"Items of Interest Among the Preston Papers" appear on pages 258 to 262. As the Preston Papers have already been published there seems little reason for inserting these items in the midst of extraneous and unrelated data.

The material of certain chapters has only chronology to hold it together. Thus, "A Hotly Contested Election in Early Augusta," pages 219 to 221, is included in the chapter, "Preparation for War." Both occurred in 1755, but the war was not an issue of the election.

In other chapters, locality is the sole connection without benefit of discussion or connecting paragraphs. For instance in Chapter XV, entitled "Community Building on the Roanoke," there are such diverse items as "Roads on the South Branch and North Fork of Roanoke," "Some Marriages on the South Branch and North Fork in Early Botetourt County," "Some Biographical and Genealogical Notes," etc.

The author is not always accurate in his attempts to summarize material outside his special field. On page 206, he gives the following account: "Fry died at Patterson's Creek, and the command devolved on Col. Washington, who had been defeated at Great Meadows on 17th April, 1754, having been dispatched from Williamsburg to Fort Cumberland in February, 1754 and having taken command of one company from New York and one from South Carolina, as well as some Virginia Companies which had been previously raised and stationed upon the frontier from whence Washington rushed into the western country, meets and defeats, a certain Jumonville, one of the enemy only escaping."

It would hardly be possible to make a statement more incorrect, couched in more awkward language. Actually Washington began recruiting troops in February, did not leave Alexandria for the frontier until April 2 (the author himself has the correct date on page 208). Not until May 28 did Washington defeat Jumonville, and was not defeated himself until July 4 when he surrendered at Fort Necessity. Instead of two independent companies, he had but one from South Carolina. The New York company never reached the front and was still at Wills Creek on July 4. The bulk of Washington's troops were Virginia companies, not the independents as the author implies. Far from rushing into the West, Washington had to advance slowly, about two to four miles a day, because of the difficulties of road making.

As the author states in his preface, he has attempted through the selection and arrangement of records to give the story of frontier development and a picture of home life on the frontier. The result is a valuable reference book, the materials of history. It is not history, for history must be both readable and interpretative.

*Our First Great West in Revolutionary War, Diplomacy and Politics; How It Was Won in War and Politics under Virginia's Lead and under John Jay's in Diplomacy.* By Temple Bodley. (Louisville, Kentucky: Filson Club, Inc., 1938. Pp. iv, 321. Illustrations, maps. \$6.00.)

Any one undertaking to write a history of "Our First Great West" has the entire sympathy of this reviewer. It is a subject of prime importance in the development of our national life, yet there is little agreement among historians upon the principal points involved. Mr. Bodley has labored many years in the field, and has produced a book which should interest all who wish to understand the problem. His discussion is concerned primarily with three phases of the subject: the military struggle for the Northwest during the Revolution, the political struggle in the Continental Congress over the disposition of the region, and the diplomatic battle in Paris which resulted in extending the boundaries of the United States to the Mississippi River. The account of the military phase centers about the person of George Rogers Clark. It is given largely in Clark's own words, and adds little to what is already well known except that it stresses the effects of the capture of Kaskaskia and Vincennes upon the settlement of Kentucky and the situation in Congress. On the political side, the importance of the Indiana and Vandalia land companies is emphasized, and it would be hard to overestimate this, yet Mr. Bodley has often inferred, rather than proved, the intervention of the land companies. This is notably true in the case of New York's pretended cession of Western land to Congress. The reviewer fully agrees with the author that New York deftly took advantage of the situation in Congress to fasten her claim upon a vast Western area to which she had no tenable title, and that what she ceded was the vaguest of claims to lands lying north of the forty-second degree of latitude. Afterwards in Congress the land companies attempted to make it appear that the New York cession included lands south of that line in which they were interested; but it actually did not do so, and it is not demonstrated that there was any previous collusion between the New York assembly and these land companies.

The principal contribution of the volume is to be found in the section dealing with the negotiation in 1782 of the preliminary articles of the Peace of Paris. Here it is maintained—and unquestionably proved, contrary to the views of the late Professor Alvord—that Lord Shelburne was intent upon securing for England the country north of the Ohio River. The British minister was careful to conceal this ambition while stressing Loyalist claims, but he knew that Congress could command no funds to meet these demands and hoped to secure the Western lands under this pretext. When Jay discovered that France was making covert overtures to England with the hope of securing Gibraltar for Spain, he approached Shelburne in regard to a separate negotiation, and that official was

finally induced to surrender the Northwest as a makeweight against the contrary ambitions of France and Spain.

The author has made effective use of the Shelburne Papers in the Clements Library, but has neglected such important secondary works as those of Professor S. F. Bemis. He has dealt with a difficult subject in a lucid and interesting manner, and has produced a book which, at several points, makes significant contributions to our knowledge of the "First Great West."

University of Virginia

THOMAS PERKINS ABERNETHY

*McGillivray of the Creeks.* By John Walton Caughey. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1938. Pp. xvii, 385. Bibliography. \$3.00.)

The importance of Alexander McGillivray in the history of the Spanish-American frontier has been well recognized ever since Pickett brought out his *History of Alabama*, but it is only with the publication of the book under review that any considerable portion of the source material for his career has been made accessible. The book is made up of "McGillivray's Correspondence and Related Papers" prefaced by a fifty-seven page sketch of his life. The bulk of the correspondence consists of letters written by McGillivray (1783-1793) to various Spanish and United States officials, and to members of the firm of Pantón, Leslie and Company; a smaller number of letters to McGillivray has been included. The letters have been gathered chiefly from the Spanish archives in Seville and Madrid; some have come from Cuba, some from Mexico City, and some from collections in this country. Very few of them have ever before been in print.

It would be superfluous for the reviewer to stress the value of this book to students of Southern history; it is self-evident and cannot be overestimated. It may be said, however, that the utility of this published correspondence has been greatly increased by the 356 footnotes which the editor has supplied explaining the text and referring to further sources of information. Incidentally these references reveal what a tremendous amount of source material on this period remains unpublished.

Since the documents here presented have been utilized in manuscript form, it follows that their publication does not throw any great new light on McGillivray's career. The conclusions of the author in his introductory sketch differ little from those reached by Professor Whitaker a decade ago. They indicate very strongly that McGillivray was a partner in Pantón, Leslie and Company, that he connived at the coming of Bowles (1788) because of lack of supplies, and that he made the much-criticized Treaty of New York (1790) because of the Nootka Sound controversy and of the Yazoo grants. They give occasional but very valuable scraps of information about Chickasaw and Cherokee, and, in their description of the Creek, constitute practically our only bit of Indian history written by an Indian. They leave unanswered the question of McGillivray's

supineness before Bowles in his later appearance, of his reasons for swearing allegiance to the United States in 1790, and of many other things. Would the correspondence that has been omitted from this publication have thrown any light on these matters? For Mr. Caughey has not printed all the McGillivray correspondence—only those letters which, he judges, “include the most significant items.” The reviewer does not mean, however, to question the author’s judgment; rather, he is paying him the high and unusual compliment of wishing he had made his book larger.

Florida State College for Women

R. S. COTTERILL

*Old Frontiers: The Story of the Cherokee Indians from Earliest Times to the Date of Their Removal to the West, 1838.* By John P. Brown. (Kingsport, Tennessee: Southern Publishers, Inc., 1938. Pp. xi, 570. Illustrations, maps, appendix, bibliography. \$3.75.)

It can scarcely be gainsaid that the Indian has been a subject of perennial interest to white Americans. As long ago as 1727 Cadwallader Colden brought forth his *History of the Five Indian Nations*. And yet, more than two hundred years later, there are several red nations whose respective histories remain to be written. For the eastern Cherokee the work has been performed as a labor of love by a Chattanooga merchant. Fittingly, the volume appeared during the centennial year of the removal of the Cherokee to their new home west of the Mississippi River.

In the preface the author’s purpose is defined with clarity as that of telling “mainly, the story of their [the Cherokee’s] struggle to hold the land of their fathers against white encroachment. If the author’s sympathy has been at times enlisted for the Indian, he has tried to present the facts impartially.” Mr. Brown has written from the Indian point of view; he has sought to explain, not why the whites did certain deeds, but how the redskins interpreted those deeds and with what results. Too long there have survived the concepts of the earlier chroniclers that all frontiersmen were of heroic stature and that the red men had few, if any, rights which the whites were bound to respect. Mr. Brown has shown that the Cherokee, at least, had few rights which the whites did respect and that the frontiersmen’s stature, when measured by the yardstick of fair dealing with their red neighbors, shrinks considerably. In these respects lies the chief value of the volume under review.

The narrative covers the years between 1540 and 1838. The treatment accorded the visit in the former year of Hernando de Soto is, and rightly, brief. Slightly more than two thirds of the pages are devoted to the period beginning about 1700, when the Cherokee “formed trading relations with the Virginians” (p. 41), and ending ninety-four years later, when the nation formally and finally ceased its wars against the whites. Strangely, the author ignores the

supineness before Bowles in his later appearance, of his reasons for swearing allegiance to the United States in 1790, and of many other things. Would the correspondence that has been omitted from this publication have thrown any light on these matters? For Mr. Caughey has not printed all the McGillivray correspondence—only those letters which, he judges, “include the most significant items.” The reviewer does not mean, however, to question the author’s judgment; rather, he is paying him the high and unusual compliment of wishing he had made his book larger.

Florida State College for Women

R. S. COTTERILL

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Needham-Arthur expedition, sent out from Virginia in 1673, which reached an aboriginal people dwelling, so practically all students of the subject agree, in present East Tennessee. It is also strange that the peaceful period, 1795-1838, is allotted no more than eighty-one pages.

There are numerous well-chosen illustrations, plus several maps, among which that opposite page 1, "The Cherokee Country," a compilation by the author, is of great aid to the reader. Appendixes contain a Cherokee vocabulary, a descriptive list of their land cessions, and the text of one of the treaties of Sycamore Shoals (1775). The index is inadequate. The bibliography of about 100 titles will scarcely bear scrutiny. For some of the titles full bibliographical information is supplied; for others, the information is incomplete, misleading, or incorrect. In neither bibliography nor citations does one encounter the titles of a number of good secondary treatments of special phases of the subject. Then, too, in addition to the manuscript collections appropriately cited there are certain others, such as the Papers of the Continental Congress in the Library of Congress, which might have been consulted to advantage.

Too many statements are unsupported by citations. The proofreading was regrettably lax. More regrettable are several misstatements of fact, to only one of which attention can here be called. Missionaries first appeared among the Cherokee not in 1784 (as stated on page 466), but a generation earlier. There is no discussion in the text of the important Anglo-Cherokee treaty negotiated at Lochaber, South Carolina, in October, 1770. The book is easy to read; Mr. Brown has infused into the narrative something of his own enthusiasm for his subject.

The National Archives

W. NEIL FRANKLIN

*The Territorial Papers of the United States. Volume VI, The Territory of Mississippi, 1809-1817.* Compiled and edited by Clarence Edwin Carter. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1938. Pp. v, 893. \$1.50.)

Your reviewer had the good fortune to discuss the earlier volume on Mississippi in this series, in a previous issue of this *Journal*, and finds little to add to what he said then. As is inherent in the problem of publishing such records, almost the only real quarrel which can be picked with an editor is in the selection of documents to be included. Mr. Carter's scholarly editorial care guarantees for this volume the same minute accuracy which characterized its predecessors, and the same thoroughness in checking collateral and corollary sources, including secondary works. No point of criticism can possibly arise, therefore, unless in the mind of some historian who for a variety of reasons would have used different criteria of selection.

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interior, and post office, the House and Senate files, and the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress. Subject matter covers the period from the first administration of Governor David Holmes (1809) to the admission of Mississippi into the Union in 1817. As in the first volume, one notes especially the omission of Indian affairs and military matters, even though many documents come from the war office. The omission of these subjects is especially interesting in this volume in that it covers the period of the War of 1812, one phase of which—the Creek War—was of vital interest to the inhabitants of the Territory. One feels, therefore, that Mr. Carter might have been justified in relaxing his rule on Indians and warfare in dealing with this period.

This feeling cannot be very strong, however, when one has so much to be grateful for. For example, information, previously difficult to get, is now easily accessible in regard to intricate local politics in the Territory, the diabolically complicated land claims, the hairsplitting differences of opinion on division of the Territory, the reasons for delay in admitting Mississippi, and a half dozen other matters important to local historians and heretofore more or less obscure.

Your reviewer feels himself forced to conclude, therefore, that complaint about omitted material is improper, and that the correct attitude is one of prayer for an extension of the project which will permit the publication of all the documents of importance bearing on territorial history. Possibly historians will be sorry that Mr. Carter's publications will force them to rewrite much of this history, but they owe him only thanks for giving them wherewithal to do it.

Only one other point seems worthy of mention; although your reviewer is no judge of book stock, he nevertheless risks the opinion that the paper on which this series is published appears not sufficiently durable for a work of this kind.

Georgia State College for Women

MACK SWEARINGEN

*Isaac Franklin, Slave Trader and Planter of the Old South.* By Wendell Holmes Stephenson. (University, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1938. Pp. xi, 368. Illustrations, bibliography. \$3.00.)

This is a scholarly work, well planned and well executed. More than this, it offers the rare combination of being both interesting and valuable. The author treats two historically controversial subjects, the ante-bellum slave trader and the ante-bellum cotton planter, with absolute fairness. There is no trace of bias or prejudice. We, of course, have a right to expect this attitude in a teacher of history, trained in the modern school. But those of us who are old enough, know how to appreciate these qualities in a student of Southern questions and problems who was born and reared and educated outside the South.

Dr. Stephenson has found a unique individual in the person of the central character of his study. Isaac Franklin was a living demonstration of what could be accomplished by native sense, good business instinct and judgment, and un-



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limited determination. It required all of these qualities to make a respectable and respected cotton planter of a man who made his fortune in the despised business of the slave trader.

The author has done a large amount of research work in assembling the material which he has used to such good purpose. About one third of the book is given to a narrative account of Franklin's slave trading and planting activities. These cover his slave buying and selling transactions in Alexandria, D. C., in Natchez, and in New Orleans, and his planting operations in Tennessee and Louisiana. The story is interesting throughout and is an excellent interpretation and expansion of the documents and exhibits which follow in well-ordered sequence.

Parts II and III (pp. 121-339) contain valuable exhibits of foundation material on ante-bellum plantation economy. These cover details of prices of every item of plantation necessity, from the slave labor itself to the general equipment of livestock, tools, and machinery. Drugs, food, clothing, etc., are all included. There are also a number of account sales of cotton, lumber, wood, and other plantation products. The book is the result of research work prosecuted through ten years and is a definitely important contribution to the authoritative literature of the period of which it treats. There is a good index, also an excellent bibliography.

Jackson, Mississippi

ALFRED H. STONE

*Fanny Kemble: A Passionate Victorian.* By Margaret Armstrong. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938. Pp. vi, 387. Frontispiece. \$3.00.)

The purpose of any biography is to present against a background of the age in which he lived a vivid, accurate picture of an individual. The author may act merely as a stage director, manipulating his puppet with an invisible hand, so arranging material that the character presents his own personality; or the writer may become the mouthpiece through whom his character seeks to speak. Only the first can purport to be an accurate presentation, for one individual can scarcely hope to interpret correctly the thoughts and actions of another.

So, although Miss Armstrong speaks of Fanny Kemble, the descendant of the "pompous Kembles" who lived in the theatrical atmosphere of the stage and of the temperamental French DeCamps, "that fine piece of changeable silk," as the backwoodsman Davy Crockett described her, somehow manages to escape from under her biographer's pen, the pen which attempts to be her mouthpiece. One lays aside the story wondering why almost every great or near great of the nineteenth century fell under her spell. For, in popular parlance, fall they did. Scarcely a diary, a journal, or a sequence of letters of that period fails to mention her theatrical successes or her intellectual abilities. From the time of her brilliant debut as the untutored actress of twenty at Covent Garden in 1829, through her

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theatrical successes in England and America, both as an actress and as a dramatic reader, artists, authors, musicians, and politicians followed her achievements and failures: Sir Thomas Lawrence, Henry Greville, the Tennysons, Edward Fitzgerald, Daniel Webster, Charles Sumner, and Andrew Jackson, to mention only a few.

Born in 1809, the daughter of Charles Kemble and Therese DeCamp, Frances Anne fell heir by inheritance to the traditions of England's most famous theatrical family, the family of "Glorious John" and of Mrs. Siddons, and to the temperamental sensitiveness and charm which made her mother the little dancing fairy of the Le Texier troupe. A precocious but irritating child, she left home at the age of five to be educated in private schools in England and France. At the age of twenty, in the attempt to salvage the remnants of a family fortune, she was thrown as a pawn on to the stage of Covent Garden and into a profession which she despised for its unreality. Natural histrionic ability carried her to success there and then for two years in America, where she went with her father in 1832.

Here she remained to marry Pierce Butler of the South Carolina slaveholding Butlers and Middletons, a marriage which a little logical forethought would have labelled "On the Rocks" before it took place. She lived as his wife long enough to become the mother of two daughters and, incidentally, the grandmother of the novelist Owen Wister, and to write an eyewitness account of the slave system in operation on the Butlers' Georgia sea island plantations. Finally, after years of misunderstandings, and doubtless to the genuine relief of both, she left Pierce Butler, to find consolation during the remainder of her long life—nearly fifty additional years—in the natural beauties of Italy, Switzerland, and New England, in friendships on two continents, in her dramatic interpretations of Shakespeare's plays, and in writing and publishing numerous memoirs, journals, poems, and critical works. Even in her last years she retained sufficient mental vitality to count among her intimate friends such intellectuals as Henry James.

Although Miss Armstrong's book recounts many of these facts—she barely notices "Notes upon Some of Shakespeare's Plays," and "On the Stage," characterized by the contemporary artist George Arliss as the most careful analysis in dramatic criticism of the actor in juxtaposition with his art—it is not an account likely to concern the serious, inquiring reader. Written in a popular style, it will provide entertainment for the casual reader who prefers impressionistic interpretations. One might question the appropriateness of the subtitle. In the generally accepted meaning of the term, Fanny Kemble was not particularly passionate, but, rather, domineering, emotional, sensitive, and stubborn. Likewise, she was far from a thoroughgoing Victorian, as witnessed by her insubordination to her husband in an age when married women were not supposed to have or at least not to voice opinions of their own, and her deserting him when divorce was a far more serious matter than it is today.

The chief merit of Miss Armstrong's study is its style, which allows her to tell an interesting story, although occasionally the personality of Fanny Kemble is obscured by a superabundance of background material. She uses language effectively, in spite of the fact that some readers are still old-fashioned enough to think that a subordinate clause is not a complete sentence. One doubts that the author has pursued her sources thoroughly or widely. The book has neither documentation nor bibliography, and the index is quite scanty, perhaps an admission by the writer that she does not intend it for the serious reader or the scholar.

Vanderbilt University

LEOTA S. DRIVER

*The Old Northwest as the Keystone of the Arch of American Federal Union: A Study in Commerce and Politics.* By A. L. Kohlmeier. (Bloomington, Indiana: The Principia Press, 1938. Pp. v, 257. \$2.50.)

This significant monograph is concerned with the Old Northwest, its commerce with the rest of the world, and its place in the Union. Its well-being depended upon its ability to export its surplus commodities in payment for its imports. There were three gateways for this commerce; the Southern, through New Orleans; the Eastern, through the ports of Philadelphia and Baltimore; and the Northeastern, through New York or the St. Lawrence Valley. The Ohio Valley was settled first by immigrants from the Southern and Middle States, who used the Southern and Eastern routes. Efforts to connect this region with the South Atlantic ports failed; the Great Lakes area was settled by people of New England ancestry, who used the Northeastern route; and the Ohio Valley grew less rapidly than the newer northern portions of the Old Northwest. Commerce increased with expanding population and surpluses, and the improvement of the routes of trade. Politicians struggled with sectional interests in respect to land policy, tariff, and internal improvements. Polk's policy of Western expansion and reduction of tariffs, and the repeal of the British corn laws advanced the interests of the Lower South and the Great Lakes region but did little for the Ohio Valley. England became more dependent upon wheat than upon cotton. The wheat growing region, which became more firmly attached to the Northeast, secured better prices and more settlers. The lower half of the Old Northwest, likewise, became more firmly attached to the South, but its growth was now slower than that of the nation as a whole.

The danger of sectional cleavage in 1850 brought a realization of the value of the Union to the Old Northwest. Efforts were made to bind North and South more closely together and transportation routes within the Old Northwest were extended and improved. Little change resulted, however, and exports produced north of the Old National Road were transported over the Northeastern channel while those of the Ohio Valley used the Eastern or Southern gateways. During the middle fifties the sections struggled to secure the eastern terminus of a pro-

posed railway to the Pacific and sectional leaders again became aggressive. The West began to realize the importance of keeping all of its commercial lines unbroken, because cities like Chicago and Cincinnati were using all three outlets. Competition of the consolidated railroads brought lower rates, thus proving the value of having alternate routes. An enormous increase in the production of cereals and cattle in the Great Lakes region enlarged commerce to the Northeast. The Eastern route, drawing from this area as well as the Ohio Valley, became almost as important as the Southern route. The exports of the latter increased absolutely but not relatively.

Secession of Southern states brought a crisis to the people of the Old Northwest. New Orleans was a little less important to them but the South was as important in 1860 as in 1835. The railroads had not weaned the Ohio Valley away from its connection with the South. "The people of the Ohio Valley did not decide to fight the people of the South so much because they had concluded that they could get along economically without the South . . ." Indeed, "they believed that they could not get along without it." The Old Northwest could not think of being divided between the North and South. It could not become a part of either, nor could it be independent of both. Only by preserving the nation intact could it continue to use its three main avenues of commerce. Early interference with the trade of the Mississippi River made easier its decision to deny the right of secession. Because no other section had so much to lose by national disintegration, the Old Northwest was the keystone of the arch of the Federal Union.

The work is written in a good, clear style. The large amount of statistics makes it a little heavy in places, but it does not appear certain that they could be relegated to footnotes or to appendixes for they are an integral part of the text. Documentation is quite adequate, but it is hardly a substitute for a bibliography. The material has not been extensively used and, therefore, its presentation in bibliographical form would be all the more welcome. It is doubtful whether the use of the term "Old West" (pp. 129, 132, 146) conforms with the generally accepted understanding of the term.

Students of Southern history will find in the work further understanding of the failure of the Ohio Valley to continue its traditional attachment to the South. All who are interested in the history of the Old Northwest and its place in the Union will also find this a stimulating book. While it is an important addition to the literature of sectionalism, its chief significance lies in its explanation of the superior strength of national unity in the face of sectional division.

Louisiana State University

JOHN D. BARNHART

*A Gentleman of the Old Natchez Region: Benjamin L. C. Wailes.* By Charles S. Sydnor. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1938. Pp. xii, 337. Illustrations, bibliography. \$3.00.)

There are certain men whose lives are inseparable from the community in which they function. The careers of some of these men may be likened to the growth of a stately tree, whose roots reach deep into the earth and from whose sturdy trunk branches stem in all directions. While it lives this tree is an integral part of the landscape, but as the soil gradually becomes barren, the tree withers and loses its strength, and when storm and flood come that way it falls to the ground. Yet, though the landscape is now changed and life is gone from the tree, enough remains so that the skilled and imaginative historian can recover a clear view of its appearance and environment. Like this tree was Benjamin L. C. Wailes. He has been fortunate in his biographer for Charles S. Sydnor possesses the qualities to interpret his subject, recreate the contemporary scene, and incidentally give us a vivid and appealing portrait of an aristocrat, agriculturist, intellectual, and human being.

The career of Wailes spanned the development of the Natchez region from a crude frontier civilization to a more settled and stable order, dominated by a planter aristocracy, and toward the end, the threatened destruction of that order by the fortunes of Civil War. For a little time the Whigs of the Natchez district exercised much influence on state politics, but before long the Democratic majority, living elsewhere in Mississippi, took over the control of the destinies of the state and thereafter the residents of Natchez and its vicinity formed a conservative and aristocratically inclined island, bounded by the Mississippi on the west and surrounded on the other three sides by the supporters of the Democratic party. Wailes possessed capabilities for public life and service above the average, and if he had chosen to change his residence to another part of the state and had embraced the doctrines of the Democratic party, he might have gone far. He apparently realized this, but such a course was foreign to his nature and he deliberately chose to live in Washington County.

Within this community which he knew so well and in which he played a leading part, Wailes endeavored to promote intellectual improvement along varied lines. In the town of Washington he encouraged literary and scientific activities, promoted an agricultural society, engaged in extensive research as a naturalist, gave of his time and money to Jefferson College, aided in the formation of the Mississippi Historical Society, and operated his own and several other plantations. He traveled widely in his own state and in other parts of the country. His most complete undertaking was a geological survey of the state of Mississippi, begun in 1852 and published in 1854, an extensive and valuable work at that time.

Wailes had the simplicity, dignity, and conservatism of a true aristocrat. Although in a sense never socially minded, *noblesse oblige* was instinctive in his

attitude toward individuals. Consistently a hard worker, he exercised his talents in many directions. Unfortunately the soil, in which he sought to develop a higher cultural civilization in his community, was shallow, and while many of his efforts temporarily flourished, in the end they only brought him distress and difficulty. Wailes regarded himself as a practical man, but his conduct of his plantations and relations with overseers would not seem to bear this out. A strain of frustration and a feeling of futility in his life are apparent in his Diary. Like many of the detailed diaries, which have been kept over a period of years (Wailes left thirty-six volumes), his record is basically a defense of a way of life, an explanation to himself and to posterity, to justify what he did or did not do.

This intriguing study of an important ante-bellum figure, written by one of the younger historians of the South, is a worthwhile product of the Duke University Press not only with respect to content but also for appearance, typography, format, and printing. The maps, including the front and end plates, are well chosen and clearly reproduced. The Press might have been more liberal with respect to illustrations. The two pictures of Wailes are scarcely enough. One misses views of early Natchez, Jefferson College, the residences of Wailes in Washington and those on his plantations, as well as portraits of members of his family and certain of his contemporaries and associates. Incidentally, the footnote numbers are too small, making them difficult to read. The years of research which the author has given to his life of Wailes are abundantly evident in the text, ample footnotes, and bibliography. That he has been intellectually honest in his portrayal is obvious. The style is readable, although at times it seems slightly abrupt. Perhaps this is because the author throughout has adhered rather closely to the facts gleaned from the sources. These, assembled from widely scattered places, have not always been sufficiently amalgamated to form a smooth flowing narrative.

If the reader is interested in the detail of a very human life, as well as the development of an important intellectual center in the South, he will find both in Professor Sydnor's *A Gentleman of the Old Natchez Region: Benjamin L. C. Wailes*.

McCormick Historical Association

HERBERT A. KELLAR

*Semmes of the Alabama*. By W. Adolphe Roberts. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1938. Pp. 320. Bibliography, illustrations. \$3.50.)

This is a colorful biography of Raphael Semmes, the most colorful naval figure produced by the War of Secession. As the title suggests, the emphasis is laid on the hero's incomparable career as a sea raider under the Stars and Bars. The opening chapter suffices the author to chalk out a quick picture of his earlier life, and the two concluding chapters to tell of the days after the war. One would like to have been shown closer pictures of young Raphael at the steering



mess on old-fashioned sloops of war and frigates, as a watch officer, as ship's captain under both sail and steam, and ashore in Mexico with Scott. Nor does his one principal prior biographer (Colyer Meriwether) give us such pictures. Mr. Roberts, in his "Portrait of a Secessionist," is mainly concerned in presenting a bare outline of the background and experience which lay behind the man who took the first Confederate cruiser upon the high seas. He is also concerned to reconcile Semmes' ardent expansionist views of Mexican War days with his later fervent defense of state rights; and this he does on the basis of the contribution of the Western acquisitions to Southern nationalism, of which Semmes was ever, unconsciously at first and consciously later, a warm proponent.

The book, done in popular style without documentation but with a brief bibliography of the items which the author found the most valuable, is in many respects merely a delightful retelling of Semmes' own story as given in his *Service Afloat* on the *Sumter* and the *Alabama*—with, of course, additions from the published memoirs of two of his subordinates, Kell and Sinclair, and of the navy agent, Bullock, who outfitted the *Alabama*. At special points reliance can be seen upon the other listed works and upon unpublished material. The book is unusually well turned out, with end paper charts of the cruise of the *Alabama* upon the seven seas, seventeen illustrations, a fine index, and three appendixes. The last include a description of the Alabama Claims, a list of captures by the two Confederate cruisers, and a sample of the judicial decisions which Semmes—international law expert and member of the bar as well as sailor—sitting as a sort of roving judge in admiralty, delighted to prepare to support the legality of his prizes.

Were not this review being written for historical students, it would stop here, for I find little fault with the book as a popular biography. However, the author says (p. 11) that Semmes was "the fifth in descent from Benedict Joseph Semmes, of Normandy, France, who came over with Lord Baltimore in 1640, in the *Ark and Dove*." Meriwether in 1913 stated that, "The father of Raphael Semmes was Richard Thompson Semmes, according to the best authority 'fifth in descent from the first American ancestor, Benedict Joseph Semmes, of Normandy, France, who came over with Lord Baltimore in 1640,' in the *Ark and Dove*." In thus following Meriwether, Roberts ignored a genealogical work which came out five years later from the pen of a member of the family. Raphael Thomas Semmes, in *The Semmes and Allied Families* (1918), gave the immigrant ancestor as the great-great-grandfather Marmaduke, but said that whence and when he came are not known. On page 16 Roberts states that Semmes served a year as master of chronometers at Norfolk, whereas the navy department records show that this service was performed in Washington. Also he states that Semmes studied law for two years in his brother's office at Cumberland, Maryland, whereas the naval records show that he was never on leave for as much as two years at a single time prior to his admission to the bar. On page

79 he states that Bullock resigned from the United States navy in consequence of the secession of Georgia, whereas Bullock had previously resigned his lieutenantcy in the navy to accept a command in a private line of mail steamers. On page 96 he states that as part of the ceremony of commissioning the *Alabama*, Semmes read his commission as captain. This was on Sunday, August 24, 1862, and it was not until the next day that, entirely unbeknown to Semmes, thousands of miles away in Richmond, he was promoted from commander to captain. On page 192 he assumes that he is quoting from Semmes' journal, when he is actually quoting from *Service Afloat*, thus imputing to an afterthought the quality of foreboding. On page 197, in listing the armament of the *Kearsarge*, he omits a 12-pounder howitzer, from which ten rounds were fired during the battle. In the list of prizes (p. 283), he includes two vessels, the *Clara L. Sparks* and the *Nina*, not mentioned in the *Official Records* or in any account that I have seen; and a couple of dates do not agree with the *Official Records*. The "judicial decree" given in Appendix III would appear to be quoted from the Semmes' journal but it is actually a quotation from the repolished version in *Service Afloat*. One would like to know the sources for the statements (p. 201) that Semmes attended mass at Cherbourg on the *evening* before the battle, and that Semmes' son Oliver commanded "the only battery of regulars in the Confederacy" (p. 221); also, for the meeting between Semmes and Mallory (pp. 225-26), of which there is no mention in the former's memoirs.

Augusta, Georgia

WILLIAM M. ROBINSON, JR.

*The Yankee Cheese Box*. By Robert Stanley McCordock. (Philadelphia: Dorrance and Company, 1938. Pp. 470. Bibliography. \$3.00.)

This is the first work of length on the construction and activities of America's original ironclads. There can be no question that the subject is covered well and in detail; but the details submerge the narrative. The volume is swamped with press notices and comments from every portion of the North and South to the exclusion of the author's own views, even of summaries. There are plenty of quotations on the moot controversy of who won the battle of March 9, 1862, from editors, politicians, and naval experts, but the author is noncommittal and gives no opinion of his own.

Professor McCordock gives the *Merrimac* and the *Monitor* much more credit for influencing the British naval reconstruction than does Baxter (*Introduction of the Ironclad Warship*), but perhaps not more than his evidence warrants. To the reviewer the chief contribution of the revamped *Merrimac* was in its temporary influence upon McClellan's Peninsular campaign. Although McClellan's possibility of success is usually not taken with much seriousness today, we do not know the possibilities of his hundred thousands if the *Merrimac* had not restricted his advance to the York River flank, blocking that along the James.

The book is certainly a contribution to the naval literature of the War between the States, despite its rather encyclopedic construction. It is regrettable that it is not better bound. The lack of an index is still more regrettable.

Southern Methodist University

H. A. TREXLER

*Recollections of War and Peace, 1861-1868.* By Anna Pierpont Siviter. Edited by Charles Henry Ambler. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1938. Pp. xxxviii, 393. Illustrations. \$3.50.)

Ever since Henry A. Wise characterized West Virginia as "the bastard child of a political rape," historians and patriots of that state have tried to justify the dismemberment of Virginia. Among those challenging Wise's statement was Anna P. Siviter, the talented and loyal daughter of Governor Francis H. Pierpont. Some forty years after the Civil War, she began writing her recollections of the years 1861-1868, with a view to explaining the formation of the "Mountain State" and to preserving "the memory and achievements of her father" (p. viii).

This book, which the editor considers a companion volume of his recent scholarly life of Pierpont, is based on the Governor's recollections and papers more than on his daughter's memory. This is particularly true of the early portion which is concerned with Pierpont's significant role in the establishment of the restored Virginia government at Wheeling, and later at Alexandria, and with the creation of West Virginia. She was, in fact, only seven years old at the close of the war. At Richmond, where her father was governor 1865-1868, her personal impressions, because of her added years, are of more importance in her story. In this part of her *Recollections*, she presents vivid and valuable pictures of the freedmen's plight and the haughty disdain with which the ex-Confederates held her family and friends. She portrays little sympathy for Carpetbaggers and less for Southern arrogance and blunders which, she insists, accounted for the success of the Radicals' program. In the whole book there is little information not included in Mr. Ambler's *Francis H. Pierpont*, but hers has the distinction of being a primary source and, in fact, of being the basis of Professor Ambler's own story.

Mrs. Siviter did not complete her manuscript. The editor, therefore, had to make a few changes for the sake of clarity but never, he states, to the extent of altering the meaning or purpose of the author "even in the interest of possible greater accuracy" (p. x). In his notes, which are numbered continuously throughout the book rather than by chapters, the editor contributes much valuable information, especially about relatively obscure leaders.

A few quotations in the *Recollections* are slightly different from the same ones in Mr. Ambler's *Francis H. Pierpont*. A comparison of E. P. Hall's letter copied on pages 47 and 406-407 of the *Recollections* and *Francis H. Pierpont*,

respectively, and a comparison of the clause which begins "a Virginia gentleman" on pages 240 and 321 of the two works, are examples of such discrepancies.

Mrs. Siviter's book has a satisfactory index, a copy of a photograph, and three poems by the author.

Birmingham-Southern College

HENRY T. SHANKS

*Old Sherry: Portrait of a Virginia Family.* By Frank J. Klingberg. (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, Incorporated, 1938. Pp. xi, 218. Illustrations. \$3.00.)

Of the 218 pages of which this little volume is composed, 160 contain the letters of William Wirt Wysor, written from Jerez and Cadiz, Spain, where he was vice-consul from 1893 to 1897. The editor, Professor Klingberg, has written 43 pages, while the remaining 15 contain some notes from the family records.

The material that is of general historical interest is contained almost exclusively in the pages of the editor. He traces the German Wysors (originally Weiser) and Ammens from Pennsylvania to Virginia. Here they intermarried with the English Jordans, the French Charltons, and the Irish Eads, and prospered in wealth, influence, and number. About the middle of the eighteenth century they settled in Southwest Virginia, at Newbern, Pulaski County—on the banks of New River. There the Wysor family, with whom the book is chiefly concerned, remained until the twentieth century. The westward movement and the Civil War affected this part of the country, and with it the Wysor family, profoundly. These influences are explained and illustrated.

As for the letters and their author the editor says: "William Wirt Wysor, unsuspectingly, was in doctrine a philosophical Deist, but in training and in practical living a Pietist, according to family traditions. And, in experience, he was a post Civil War Virginian, home grown, unworldly, and unpretentious. His charming simplicity drew warm friends to him, not only Spanish, Swedish, and Russian, but particularly English. His Anglo-American legacy made him closely akin to the British and an ever welcome guest in their midst. An exile from the quiet, almost rural Virginia, with its eighteenth century charm, he tells of the strongly contrasted life as he saw it in the most Latin and most Roman Catholic corner of Europe, a country with a heritage, Roman and Moorish, as well as Christian. At Cadiz, he watched American vessels come and go, saw the growth of the sea power that was to defeat an ageing Spain in Asia and in the Caribbean and to make America imperialistic. His letters, intended only for domestic consumption, tell the story of exactly what he found in the Spain of the 1890's. And without knowing it, he also told his own story and gave us the portrait of a family" (p. 207).

The above statement is perfectly true, and the letters are charmingly written, but it is also true that the writer addressed himself to simple and unpretentious

folk. For the student of thought and affairs there is little here. There are brief references to such topics as the difficulties of the Spanish language, Europeans who speak three or four languages, bull fights, parties, Spanish wines and women, financial difficulties, mistreatment by the American consul, the slowness of Spanish life, and almost innumerable references to petty family affairs and local gossip. The statements of real historical importance could be condensed into half a dozen pages.

The title of the book, *Old Sherry*, apparently comes from Jerez, the town near Cadiz in which Wysor spent most of his time while in Spain. The English used to call it Sherry.

West Liberty State Teachers College

C. C. REGIER

*Memoirs of Richard Cannon Watts, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of South Carolina, 1927-1930.* Edited by Rosser H. Taylor and Raven I. McDavid. (Columbia, South Carolina: The R. L. Bryan Company, 1938. Pp. xiv, 179. Frontispiece. \$2.00.)

This book is a record of men and events as a former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of South Carolina recalled them. Judge Watts' memory took him back to the evil days of Reconstruction, to the Ku Klux Klan, to the election of 1876 when white supremacy was re-established in South Carolina by Wade Hampton, and to the Tillman Movement when Hampton and the social and political forces behind him were defeated and overthrown.

Laurens County, South Carolina, was the place of Judge Watts' birth and young manhood. Since few counties of the state had a more sensational history in the period of Reconstruction and since young Watts was an ardent Democrat and participant in those struggles, his memoirs are of value in clearing up some incidents of common gossip.

As a member of the general assembly and as a judge of both the Circuit and Supreme courts of the state, the author of the memoirs had a wide knowledge of public men and affairs. Few periods of the history of South Carolina were marked by greater personal bitterness than were the days of Ben Tillman's rule. Most, if not all, South Carolinians who can recall those days do so now without feeling. So it is a tribute to Judge Watts that, in spite of his adherence to the Tillman cause, he could retain the respect and admiration of his old friends who followed the conservative leadership.

Not the least of interest in the memoirs is the story of the author's judicial experiences, for he was noted for an almost unerring common sense in his interpretation and application of the law.

While the memoirs add little of new historical value, they bring a wealth of color by a most colorful public figure. The chief defect, as pointed out by the editors, is that they were dictated by the author to a stenographer, who failed to correct crudities of sentence structure and who misspelled words. But, as stated

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in the editors' Notes, "an engaging conversationalist he [Judge Watts] certainly was; and, true to the traditions of the conversationalists of South Carolina, he has rambled delightfully, featuring many a rare personal experience and recording here and there judgments of men and events with keen and fresh philosophic insight."

The volume contains an appreciative introduction by Eugene S. Blease, the author's friend and associate on the South Carolina Supreme Court. And the editors have included at the end of the volume most excellent notes, without which the memoirs would be much less interesting and intelligible.

Clemson College

ALESTER GARDEN HOLMES

*A Second Constitution for the United States of America.* By Hugh L. Hamilton. (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, Incorporated, 1938. Pp. viii, 166. \$3.00.)

The expressed purpose of the author is missionary, to arouse a public demand for a constitutional convention to rewrite the national compact, which, in his opinion, is outmoded from preamble to last amendment. He contends that, though the technique of government has clearly "not kept pace with economic and social changes," neither the Congress nor the requisite two thirds of the state legislatures can be relied upon to initiate a call for a convention. Though he has no faith in politicians, he hopes that an aroused public opinion may prod the lawmakers into action. The reviewer, however, fears that the book will not carry far into the popular circle, and so will contribute little towards its objective.

The outstanding effect of the second constitution would be greater centralization of government in Washington. The states would become mere departments whose boundaries and even existence would be subject to the pleasure of the national assembly. This body, which would replace the Congress, would consist of a fascistic senate representing professional and industrial groups without regard to state lines and of a popular congress generally similar to the House of Representatives. The president would be elected by popular vote for a term of six years without re-eligibility. The senatorial term would be twelve years, and the congressional six years with eligibility for two terms. All civil officers and employees, except members of the supreme court and the cabinet, would be selected from civil service lists. The cabinet would be confined to the portfolios of state, treasury, war, justice, interior, post office, and budget. The vice-president would serve as postmaster general, the senate electing its own presiding officer. The supreme court would be fixed at nine members, would be freed from legislative regulation, and would share the right of impeachment with the congress. The senate would retain the sole power to try impeachments. The old *due process* clause would be so altered as to delete *life* and *property*, leaving only *liberty* to be guaranteed. As capital punishment would be abolished, the omission of *life* is immaterial; but what of *property*? Neutrality provisions

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would amount almost to a quarantine of the belligerents. Numerous moot questions would be set at rest, for a time at any rate, by redefinitions. In some changes new difficulties and ambiguities are plainly discernible. In all, 112 out of 149 clauses would be altered or abandoned and 18 entirely new ones added. Mr. Hamilton believes that his proposed social contract would assure "more perfect representation, more equitable justice, more contented liberty, real security, and peace," and would point the way to " 'The United States of the World.' " Though the reviewer sees considerable merit in many of the proposed changes, he is unable to share such faith.

Augusta, Georgia.

WILLIAM M. ROBINSON, JR.

## Historical News and Notices

Members of the Southern Historical Association may be justly proud of the organization's rapid approach to maturity. The annual report of the Secretary-Treasurer, printed in this issue, shows a total membership of over 800 and a cash balance of nearly \$5,000. The Association is growing at the rate of about 100 a year; its financial reserve has continued to increase in spite of its assumption of a larger proportion of publication costs. Furthermore, there is tangible evidence that the Association, through its *Journal* and its annual meetings, is achieving its major objective, the development of Southern historical scholarship. A secondary purpose, "to foster the teaching and study of all branches of history in the South," has temporarily lapsed. A session of the first annual meeting was devoted to a discussion of "A New Introductory Course in the Social Sciences." The second annual meeting included a session program which bridged the gap between "Europe and the South." Subsequently the programs have dealt entirely with Southern history. The committee on program for 1938 endeavored to include papers on European history, but finally decided it was inadvisable to arrange such a session for the New Orleans meeting. We are assured, however, that historians working in other fields than American history will find it worthwhile to attend the fifth annual meeting which will convene in Lexington, Kentucky, some time in November, 1939 (see the report of the Secretary-Treasurer, pp. 76-77).

The following committee appointments have been announced by Charles S. Sydnor, president of the Association. *Committee on program*: James W. Patton, Converse College, chairman; Fred C. Cole, Louisiana State University; Robert S. Cotterill, Florida State College for Women; Stanley J. Folmsbee, University of Tennessee; Henry H. Simms, Ohio State University. *Committee on nominations*: Charles W. Ramsdell, University of Texas, chairman; William G. Bean, Washington and Lee University; Minnie Clare Boyd, Mississippi State College for Women; J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, University of North Carolina; Rosser H. Taylor, Furman University. *Committee on membership*: Alfred J. Hanna, Rollins College, chairman. *Committee on local arrangements*: Thomas D. Clark, University of Kentucky, and F. Garvin Davenport, Transylvania College, co-chairmen.

The Southern Historical Association has accepted an invitation to participate in the program of the thirty-second annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley His-

torical Association, which is to be held in Memphis, Tennessee, April 20-22. A joint session has been arranged for Saturday morning, April 22, on the general theme of "Town Life in the Ante-Bellum South," in which a paper will be presented by Mack Swearingen, Georgia State College for Women, on New Orleans; one by F. Garvin Davenport, Transylvania College, on Nashville; and one by Gerald M. Capers, Jr., Yale University, on Memphis. Plans are also being made for a joint dinner to be held on Friday evening, April 21.

#### PERSONAL

The Commonwealth Foundation Lectures at University College, University of London, will be delivered by Dwight L. Dumond of the University of Michigan during February and March, 1939.

Roger W. Shugg of Princeton University has been granted a postdoctoral fellowship for 1938-1939 by the Social Science Research Council to investigate social consequences of American industrialization at the London School of Economics and Political Science. Professor Shugg spent the past summer in Germany and Italy.

An exchange has been arranged between Walter B. Posey of Birmingham-Southern College and Charles E. Hunter of the University of Hawaii for the session of 1939-1940.

Mrs. Mary R. Campbell of Maryville College was adjudged the winner of the McClung Award for 1938. The award is a cash prize of fifty dollars given annually by Mrs. C. M. McClung of Knoxville to the contributor of the best article in each year's issue of the East Tennessee Historical Society *Publications*. Dr. Campbell's contribution to *Publications* No. 10 is entitled "Tennessee and the Union, 1847-1861." James C. Malin of the University of Kansas, P. L. Rainwater, director of the Historical Records Survey, Jackson, Mississippi, and Charles S. Sydnor of Duke University were the judges.

Hunter D. Farish, director of the Department of Research and Records, Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated, will serve as visiting professor of history at the College of William and Mary during the second semester of the current year. He will offer a course in Colonial American history.

The Eighth International Congress of Historical Sciences, held at Zurich August 28 to September 4, was attended by Joseph C. Robert of Duke University and Josiah C. Russell of the University of North Carolina. Professor Russell presented a paper on the "Decline in Population, 200-700 A. D., and Its Intellectual and Social Results," and presided at a session of the section on "Social and Economic History of Medieval and Modern Times." The recipient of a grant-in-aid from the American Philosophical Society, he is remaining in England for the current year to study the population of medieval England.

The death of Samuel A'Court Ashe of Raleigh, North Carolina, will recall his pioneer activities in preserving the history of the Old North State. As a Confederate soldier, member of the legal profession, newspaper editor, industrial executive, clerk of the United States District Court at Raleigh, and historian, his varied career spanned ninety-eight years. In the historical field he edited a *Biographical History of North Carolina*, 8 volumes, and wrote a *History of North Carolina*, 2 volumes.

W. H. Callcott of the University of South Carolina lectured before the Winter Institute of Hispanic-American Studies at Miami during January.

The appointment of William J. Van Schreeven as principal archivist of Virginia became effective January 1. Mr. Van Schreeven did graduate work at the University of Iowa and at Columbia University, where he is a doctoral candidate with a dissertation on Henry Clay as secretary of state. He has served as a classifier in The National Archives.

Summer research activities were carried on by C. P. West of Wake Forest College on the social life of the early Plymouth colony, and by W. C. Askew of the University of Arkansas on the development of public opinion in England, 1870-1914, at the British Museum. During the approaching summer, Cary Johnson of the University of Virginia will be engaged in research on the early history of Nashville.

David W. Lattimer of Ohio State University has been appointed instructor in history at the University of Tennessee for the winter and spring quarters of the current year to replace Maria M. Massey who is on leave of absence.

The following academic promotions have been called to the *Journal's* attention: Roger W. Shugg to be assistant professor of history at Princeton University; Ross H. Moore to be professor of history at Millsaps College; John E. Townes to be associate professor of history at the Virginia Military Institute; L. Walter Seegers to be assistant professor of history at the North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering; Harold L. Fowler to be associate professor of history at the College of William and Mary; Ruth Stephens to be assistant professor of history and political science at the University of Tennessee.

Among new appointments in the historical profession the following may be noted: Mack Swearingen to be chairman of the division of social sciences and head of the history department at the Georgia State College for Women; G. Leighton LaFuze to be professor of history and political science at John B. Stetson University; William E. Dodd to be research professor of American history and Solon J. Buck lecturer on American history at American University; George E. Mowry and Judson C. Ward to be instructors in history at the University of North Carolina; David M. Potter to be instructor in history at Rice Institute.

The following summer school appointments for 1939 have been announced: W. G. Bean of Washington and Lee University and Minnie Clare Boyd of the Mississippi State College for Women to teach at the University of Alabama; R. H. Wienefeld of the University of South Carolina to teach at Johns Hopkins University; Thornton Terhune of Tulane University to teach at the University of Virginia; P. L. Rainwater to teach at the University of Texas (second term).

#### HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The Southern Historical Association held a joint session with the American Historical Association at Chicago on the afternoon of December 30. Philip M. Hamer of The National Archives presided; Robert D. Meade of Randolph-Macon Woman's College read a paper on "Jefferson Davis and Judah P. Benjamin: Some New Light on the Working of the Confederate Machine"; Alfred J. Hanna of Rollins College discussed "The Flight of the Confederate Cabinet"; and Dallas D. Irvine of The National Archives presented some "Notes on the Fate of the Confederate Archives."

Aspects of Southern history were also treated in other sessions of the meeting. Walter P. Webb, University of Texas, read a paper on "The 'New' South and the Share-Croppers," and H. C. Nixon, Southern Conference for Human Welfare, led a discussion of Professor Webb's paper. At a joint session of the American Historical Association and the Agricultural History Society, Edwin A. Davis, Louisiana State University, presented a paper on "Bennett H. Barrow, Typical Ante-Bellum Planter of the Felicianas." C. C. Crittenden, North Carolina Historical Commission, discussed "Historical Agencies and Societies in the South" before a joint session of the American Historical Association and the Conference of State and Local Historical Societies. "The Abolitionist Movement Reconsidered" was the subject of a paper read by W. B. Hesseltine, University of Wisconsin. It elicited a lively discussion led by Theodore Clarke Smith, Williams College. Two papers read at a joint session of the American and the Mississippi Valley Historical associations dealt with the antislavery movement: "Daniel Howell Hise, Free-Thinker and Abolitionist," by Lewis E. Atherton, University of Missouri; and "The American Missionary Association as an Anti-Slavery Society," by Robert S. Fletcher, Oberlin College, in collaboration with Lloyd V. Hennings, Whitehouse (Ohio) High School. A luncheon conference of the Agricultural History Society was addressed by B. I. Wiley, University of Mississippi. His subject was "Salient Changes in Southern Agriculture Since the Civil War."

The Florida Historical Society assembled on January 25-26, 1938, for its thirty-sixth annual meeting. The sessions of the first day were held in St. Petersburg; those of the second convened in Tampa. Exhibits of Floridiana were on display at St. Petersburg Junior College and the University of Tampa. A program, prepared by a committee headed by Alfred J. Hanna of Rollins College, resulted in the Society's "most successful annual meeting."

Among the principal speakers were: T. Frederick Davis, Jacksonville, who spoke on "What the Disston Land Purchase Did for Florida"; Mrs. Ruth Cutter Nash, University of Chicago, "Florida, Pre-History and Anthropology"; Mrs. Doris Stone, Tulane University, "The Relationship of Middle America to Florida Archaeology"; Emily M. Porter, Apalachicola, "The St. Joseph Convention—Florida's First Step Toward Statehood"; Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings and Eustace L. Adams, "Use of Florida History Materials by Creative Writers"; and Luther H. Evans, "Historical Records Survey, and Union Catalog of Floridiana."

The following officers were chosen: Joshua Coffin Chase of Winter Park, president; Kathryn T. Abbey, Florida State College for Women, first vice-president; Spessard L. Holland, Bartow, second vice-president; Herbert Lamson, Jacksonville, recording secretary; Watt Marchman, Winter Park, corresponding secretary and librarian; Dorothy Dodd, Jacksonville, treasurer.

A district meeting of the Society was held jointly with the Tallahassee Historical Society in Tallahassee on May 21, in celebration of the centennial of the Episcopal Diocese of Florida. The program was presided over by Dr. Abbey, and included a welcome by Guyte P. McCord, president of the Tallahassee Historical Society, and papers on "Economic Conditions in Florida, 1840-1860," by Hugh M. Taylor, Quincy; "Florida Historical Society, Its History, Plans, Purposes," by Watt Marchman; "History of the Episcopal Church in Florida," by Herbert Lamson; and "A Church Inventory Under the Supervision of the Historical Records Survey," by Mrs. Sue A. Mahorner, Jacksonville.

The annual banquet of the East Tennessee Historical Society was held at Knoxville on October 7, 1938. Daniel M. Robison of Vanderbilt University delivered an address on "Whigs in the Politics of the Confederacy," and John P. Brown of Chattanooga made a short talk on "The Removal of the Cherokee Indians from Tennessee," in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of this removal.

The Alabama Department of Archives and History has been recently presented with the John K. McEwin Collection of aboriginal and pioneer relics. This collection has been brought together during a period of about forty-five years and includes a very fine group of aboriginal objects. It is especially rich in pipes. Also included are representative trade objects illustrative both of the South Atlantic and Pensacola merchants who sold to the Coosa River Indians of the central part of the state. Glass beads, bottles, and silver pendants and gorgets make up much of this character of material.

The Mississippi Department of Archives and History, with the help of the Historical Records Survey, is compiling for publication a checklist of the department's newspapers, a guide to its manuscripts, a bibliography of the publications of the state government of Mississippi, and a bibliography of Mississippiana.

The thirty-eighth annual meeting of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina assembled in Raleigh, December 1-2. At the opening session, Jonathan Daniels, editor of the *Raleigh News and Observer* and president of the Association, delivered an address on Thomas Wolfe and his work, and George Stevens, editor of the *Saturday Review of Literature*, spoke on book reviewing. Archibald Henderson reviewed North Carolina books and authors of 1938 at a morning session on December 2, followed by a discussion of the expediency of inaugurating a society for the preservation of the state's antiquities. Announcement was made at the final session that Mr. Daniels had been awarded the Mayflower Cup for 1938 for his book, *A Southerner Discovers the South*. Count René Doynel de Saint-Quentin, French ambassador to the United States, delivered an address on the first representative of his country to the United States, Conrad Alexandre Gerard.

Officers for 1939 were elected: president, A. R. Newsome of the University of North Carolina; first vice-president, Mrs. Marian Sims of Charlotte; second vice-president, Judge Heriot Clarkson of Raleigh; third vice-president, Richard D. Dixon of Edenton; secretary, C. C. Crittenden of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHICAL

The Louisiana State University Press announces the inauguration of a Southern Biography Series, the first volumes of which will probably appear in the fall of 1939. The Series will be edited by Wendell H. Stephenson and Fred C. Cole, and will embrace economic as well as political biography. It is intended to appeal to the general reader as well as to the professional historian. Studies of prominent Southerners who have not hitherto received adequate biographical treatment and those for whom the discovery of new materials warrant a re-evaluation will be considered for publication.

The University of Alabama Library has recently acquired the Thomas Payne Thompson Collection of Americana, relating principally to the Mississippi Valley. It contains some 10,000 pieces, among them manuscripts, maps, letters, pamphlets, magazines, books, and portraits. Included in the collection are travel books, memoirs, and histories, published in France during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, that depict life in the Mississippi Valley and along the Gulf Coast during the era of French control; much material of similar nature for the Spanish and English periods; and diaries, memoirs, and works of prominent Americans. Much of the material pertains to the political, social, and economic life of the Old South, including plantations and slavery. There are many religious tracts and sermons. Outside the field of history, the collection contains material relating to law, medicine, the biological sciences, geology, engineering, modern languages, education, music, art, sports, and amusements.

During recent months the University of Virginia has acquired 83 autographed

letters of Thomas Jefferson, most of them addressed to Joseph C. Cabell; and 14 letters written by French officials to Arthur Lee in the years 1778-1780. By purchase from the Fairfax Harrison estate the University has completed its set of photostatic copies of the unpublished executive journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia.

The Richard T. Ely Collection, recently acquired by the Louisiana State University Library, represents a lifetime of assembling materials in economics and the other social sciences by a noted economist. The collection consists of about 7,500 volumes of books, 10,000 pamphlets, and a large assemblage of public documents, parchment deeds and charters, and journals. There are some 1,200 to 1,500 volumes in the rarer portion restricted to economic and political theory, covering practically all of the writers in these fields. Many of the great classics are in first edition, and some contain autographed letters of the authors, adding much to their interest. Among some of these rarities are Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, 2 vols. (London, 1776), Thomas R. Malthus' *Principles of Population* (London, 1798), and the writings of Arthur Young, William Godwin, and Matthew and H. C. Carey. There are two incunabula in the collection, an Albertus Magnus *Compendium theologiae veritatis* (Hamburg, 1489), and a Boethius *De consolatione philosophiae* (Nürnberg, 1486). Much economic and social history is included, and the collection is especially strong on religious and communistic societies. Arthur Young's *Annals of Agriculture*, Emma Goldman's *Mother Earth*, and the *Fabian Tracts* are among the rare journals or society publications. The collection is now being processed and made available for use. Taken as a whole, it is the most valuable single addition made to the Louisiana State University Library.

The Mississippi Department of Archives and History announces the following recent acquisitions: Order Book of the Fourth Brigade of Mississippi militia (later state troops), September 17, 1862-May 2, 1863; a collection of 21 manuscripts and 10 printed pieces (July 8, 1864-May 1, 1865) pertaining to Major General W. W. Loring's division, Brigadier General W. S. Featherston's brigade, and General Joseph E. Johnston's surrender in North Carolina; copies of the journal of Rev. James A. Lyon of Columbus, Mississippi, 1861-1870; selections from the correspondence of John Sharp Williams and Woodrow Wilson, and selected speeches of Williams, compiled by George C. Osborn.

Among recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following may be noted: six papers of Daniel O. Dunham, relating to trading companies in the Northwest, 1813; papers of Cadmus M. Wilcox, 1862-1865; diaries of Frank Wigglesworth Clarke, 30 volumes, 1865 to 1931; papers of Philippe Bunau-Varilla, relating to Panama, 1903-1904; papers of Alfred Thayer Mahan; additional papers of Elihu Root; papers of Boris Brasol, 36 boxes; additional papers on Negro history.



The Library of the University of Arkansas has completed its files of the *Annual Register* from 1754 to 1910, and hopes to bring it to date very soon.

Letters of the Choctaw chief, Hon. Gilbert W. Dukes, written in Choctaw and English, have been received by the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Dr. William E. Howard of Dallas, Texas, has presented his collection of Texana and Mexicana to the Dallas Historical Society "on condition that it be displayed permanently as a unit in the [Society's] Hall of State." The collection "consists of approximately two thousand books on Texas, about twelve thousand pamphlets on Texas, and approximately twenty-five hundred old documents, letters, and manuscripts entirely relative to the history of Texas, largely prior to the year 1845."

The National Archives has recently received from the adjutant general's office the manuscript documents and maps used in compiling the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*; the records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1872; correspondence and other papers of the secretary of war and of the headquarters of the army, 1800-1903; original muster rolls, 1818-1865, and strength returns, 1812-1898, of volunteer troops in various wars; and original records of discontinued military posts, units, and geographical commands, 1835-1912. Selected military, geographical exploration, and survey maps, most of them between 1789 and 1894, are being transferred from the office of the chief of engineers to The National Archives.

*Resources of Southern Libraries: A Survey of Facilities for Research* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1938, pp. xii, 370, \$4.50), edited by Robert B. Downs, is a work which will give very practical assistance to historians of the South. The committee of the American Library Association which sponsored the survey had the following "specific objectives" in mind; "(1) to provide a basis for interlibrary loans; (2) to assist scholars and advanced students to find the best collections in their fields; (3) to give a basis for planning, as in agreements to divide acquisition activities; (4) to aid national and regional union catalogs; (5) to locate and describe little-known collections of value for research; (6) to discover particular weaknesses in libraries of the southern area; and (7) to stimulate the development of research collections" (p. xii). Among the chapters which should be of special interest to historians are those on government publications, manuscripts, newspapers, general periodicals and society publications, history, and the social sciences.

*History of Colquitt County* (Atlanta: Foote and Davies Company, 1937, pp. xiv, 365, \$3.65), by W. A. Covington, is a record of the Moultrie region in Georgia. Chapters on the chronological development of the county are interspersed with topical discussions of institutional life. There are sundry compila-

tions including a population enumeration from the census of 1860, county officials, and World War veterans.

The work of the Historical Records Survey of the WPA continues to bear fruit in printed and mimeographed inventories of county archives, samples of which have reached the *Journal* office. The *Historical Records of North Carolina*, Vol. II, *The County Records, Craven through Moore* (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1938, pp. xii, 568), edited by Charles C. Crittenden and Dan Lacy, embraces the inventories of forty additional counties. An *Inventory of the County Archives of Virginia*, No. 21, *Chesterfield County* (Charlottesville: The University of Virginia, 1938, pp. viii, 229), prepared under the supervision of the state director, Elizabeth B. Parker, contains an historical sketch, a discussion of "The Evolution of County Government in Virginia" by Lester J. Cappon, sections on the keeping of records and their housing, care, and accessibility, inventories of the records of the several county offices, a bibliography, etc. Practically the same organization is given to the *Inventory of Parish Archives of Louisiana*, No. 35, *Natchitoches Parish* (University, Louisiana: Department of Archives, 1938, pp. vi, 180), compiled under the direction of John C. L. Andreassen. All three of the above inventories contain subject indexes; the last two have in addition chronological indexes.

Dallas T. Herndon of the Arkansas History Commission has compiled the *Arkansas Handbook, 1937-1938*, which contains "the background of personalities making up the governmental officials of the time"; an outline of the high-points in the state's history; and a unique feature, an "Arkansas Catechism," resulting from questions most frequently posed for the commission.

*Lexington during the Civil War* (Lexington: Commercial Printing Company, 1938, pp. 51, illustrations, \$1.00), by J. Winston Coleman, Jr., depicts the divided sentiments of the people of Lexington, "capital" of the Kentucky Bluegrass region, during four years of fratricidal strife. The town was occupied by Federal soldiers almost continuously, although on three occasions it fell into Confederate hands. Military activities are emphasized, but there are also valuable notes on such subjects as Transylvania University, the activities of Lexington women, business conditions, and the arrival of refugees from East Tennessee.

#### ARTICLES ON THE STATES OF THE UPPER SOUTH

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- "Negroes in Richmond in 1864," by H. J. Eckenrode, in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (July).
- "New Light on George Washington's Ancestors," by S. H. Lee Washington, *ibid.*
- "Two of the Oldest Brick Dwellings in America," by Anne Floyd Upshur and Ralph T. Whitelaw, *ibid.*
- "John Taylor of Caroline and the Preservation of an Old Social Order," by Bernard Drell, *ibid.* (October).
- "Washington's Burgess Route," by Arthur P. Gray, *ibid.*
- "The Colonial Churches of Lynnhaven Parish, Princess Anne County, Virginia," by George Carrington Mason, in the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* (July).
- "The Old Bay Line of the Chesapeake. A Sketch of a Hundred Years of Steamboat Operation," by Alexander C. Brown, *ibid.* (October).
- "Henrico and Its College," by Robert Hunt Land, *ibid.*
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- "Two Reconstruction Impeachments," by Cortez A. M. Ewing, *ibid.*
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- "The Public Career of George Washington Campbell," by Weymouth T. Jordan, in the *East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications* (1938).
- "Felix Grundy and the Depression of 1819 in Tennessee," by Joseph H. Parks, *ibid.*
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- "The Early Press of Jonesboro," by Paul M. Fink, *ibid.*
- "Tennessee and the Union, 1847-1861," by Mary R. Campbell, *ibid.*
- "The Farmers' Alliance and the People's Party in Tennessee," by J. A. Sharp, *ibid.*
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- " 'Macedonia'—'The Church of Our Ancestors,' " by Sara Graves Clark, in the *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* (October).
- "The Famous Falls of the Ohio Trip; Causes for Its Necessity, and Reason Why Daniel Boone Chose Michael Stoner to Be His Sole Companion," by Bess L. Hawthorne, *ibid.*
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- "The Evolution of a Frontier Society in Missouri, 1815-1828," II, by Hattie M. Anderson, *ibid.*; III, *ibid.* (October).
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- "Private Manors: An Edited List," by Donnell MacClure Owings, *ibid.* (December).
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- "Orderly Book Virginia Militia, War of 1812," contributed by Mrs. William M. Sweeney, *ibid.*
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- "Sergeant Champe's Adventure," by Wilbur C. Hall, *ibid.*
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- "The Letters of Hubbard Taylor to President James Madison," continued, edited by James A. Padgett, *ibid.*
- "Trial List of Titles of Kentucky Newspapers and Periodicals Before 1860," compiled by Kenneth W. Rawings, *ibid.*
- "Kentucky Marriages and Obituaries," continued, compiled and edited by G. Glenn Clift, *ibid.* (July, October).
- "The Letters of Colonel Richard Taylor and of Commodore Richard Taylor to James Madison, together with a Sketch of Their Lives," by James A. Padgett, *ibid.* (October).
- "Letters of George Caleb Bingham to James S. Rollins," IV, edited by C. B. Rollins, in the *Missouri Historical Review* (July); V, *ibid.* (October).
- "The War of 1812 on the Missouri Frontier," I, by Kate L. Gregg, *ibid.* (October).
- "Notes of a Missionary Among the Cherokees," edited by Grant Foreman, in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* (June).
- "Excitement on the Sweetwater," edited by W. S. Nye, *ibid.*
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- "Sources for the Study of Oklahoma Catholic Missions: A Critical Bibliography," by Sister M. Ursula, *ibid.*
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## ARTICLES ON THE STATES OF THE LOWER SOUTH

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- "The Voluntary Exile of Free Negroes of Pensacola," by Ruth B. Barr and Modeste Hargis, in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* (July).
- "Transportation in Territorial Florida," by Alice Whitman, *ibid.*
- "The Historical Records Survey and State Archives Survey of Florida," *ibid.*
- "Florida's First Constitution," by James B. Whitfield, *ibid.* (October).
- "St. Joseph, An Episode of the Economic and Political History of Florida," by James O. Knauss, *ibid.*
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- "Ambrose Baber," by R. B. Flanders, in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* (September).
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- "Plantation Development in Chatham County," by Savannah Unit, Federal Writers Project, *ibid.* (December).
- "A Georgia Medical Student in the Year 1801," by Victor H. Bassett, *ibid.*
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- "Arsène Lacarrière Latour," by Edwin H. Carpenter, Jr., in the *Hispanic American Historical Review* (May).
- "French Charities to the Acadians, 1755-1799," by Shelby T. McCloy, in the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* (July).
- "Consuls of Spain in New Orleans, 1804-1821," by Stanley Faye, *ibid.*
- "Pensacola and the Filibusters, 1816-1817," by Harris Gaylord Warren, *ibid.*
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- "'The World's Delight': The Story of Adah Isaacs Menken," by John S. Kendall, *ibid.*
- "The Papers of the Food Administration for Louisiana, 1917-1919, in the National Archives," by William D. Cain, *ibid.*
- "Annual Meeting of Southern Historical Association," by Fred Cole, *ibid.* (October).
- "The Free Negro in New Orleans, 1803-1860," by James E. Winston, *ibid.*
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- "Laredo during the Texas Republic," by Seb. S. Wilcox, in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (October).
- "Louis Aury: The First Governor of Texas Under the Mexican Republic," by Lancaster E. Dabney, *ibid.*
- "Two WPA Projects of Historical Interest," by A. W. von Struve, *ibid.*

#### DOCUMENTS AND COMPILATIONS ON THE STATES OF THE LOWER SOUTH

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- "Journal of General Peter Horry," continued, edited by A. S. Salley, *ibid.* (July, October).

- "Marriage and Death Notices from the City Gazette, Charleston, S. C.," continued, contributed by Elizabeth Heyward Jervey, *ibid.*
- "The Thomas Elfe Account Book, 1765-1775," continued, contributed by Mabel L. Webber, copied by Elizabeth H. Jervey, *ibid.*
- "Letters from Dr. Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia to Wm. Allston Esq of South Carolina," contributed by Alston Deas, *ibid.* (October).
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- "La Dame de Ste. Hermine," by Edith Dart Price and Sally Dart, *ibid.*
- "A Sale of Real Property in Louisiana in 1769," edited by Henry P. Dart, *ibid.*
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- "Lease of a Louisiana Plantation and Slaves, 1727," edited by *id.*, *ibid.*
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- "Commission, Orders and Instructions Issued to George Johnstone, British Governor of West Florida, 1763-1767," edited by James A. Padgett, *ibid.*
- "The Garden of Fray Antonio De Sedella," edited by Stanley Faye, *ibid.*
- "Documents Relating to the Establishment of Privateers at Galveston, 1816-1817," translated and edited by Harris Gaylord Warren, *ibid.*
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#### GENERAL AND REGIONAL ARTICLES AND COMPILATIONS

- "The Use of the Term Copperhead during the Civil War," by Charles H. Coleman, in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (September).
- "Polk and Fremont, 1845-1846," by Richard R. Stenberg, in the *Pacific Historical Review* (September).
- "The Tariff Issue and the Civil War," by Richard Hofstadter, in the *American Historical Review* (October).
- "Slavery and the Civil War," by Avery Craven, in the *Southern Review* (Autumn).
- "S. C. Pomeroy and the New England Emigrant Aid Company, 1854-1858," by Edgar Langsdorf, in the *Kansas Historical Quarterly* (August).
- "Letters of a Drummer Boy," edited by Don Russell, in the *Indiana Magazine of History* (September).
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- "The Diary of James M. Doyle," edited by Jerome V. Jacobsen, in *Mid-America* (October).
- "Rise of Teacher-Training for Negroes," by Reid E. Jackson, in the *Journal of Negro Education* (October).
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## CONTRIBUTORS

PHILIP M. HAMER is chief of the Division of Reference,  
The National Archives.

F. GARVIN DAVENPORT is professor of history and political science at Transylvania College.

THOMAS D. CLARK is assistant professor of history at the University of Kentucky.

FRANCIS B. SIMKINS is professor of history at Virginia State Teachers College, Farmville.

PHILIP DAVIDSON is professor of history at Agnes Scott College.

FLETCHER M. GREEN is professor of history at the University of North Carolina.

CHARLES G. CORDLE is professor of history at the Junior College of Augusta, Georgia.

HENRY S. RORER is a member of the department of history, Maury High School, Norfolk, Virginia.

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